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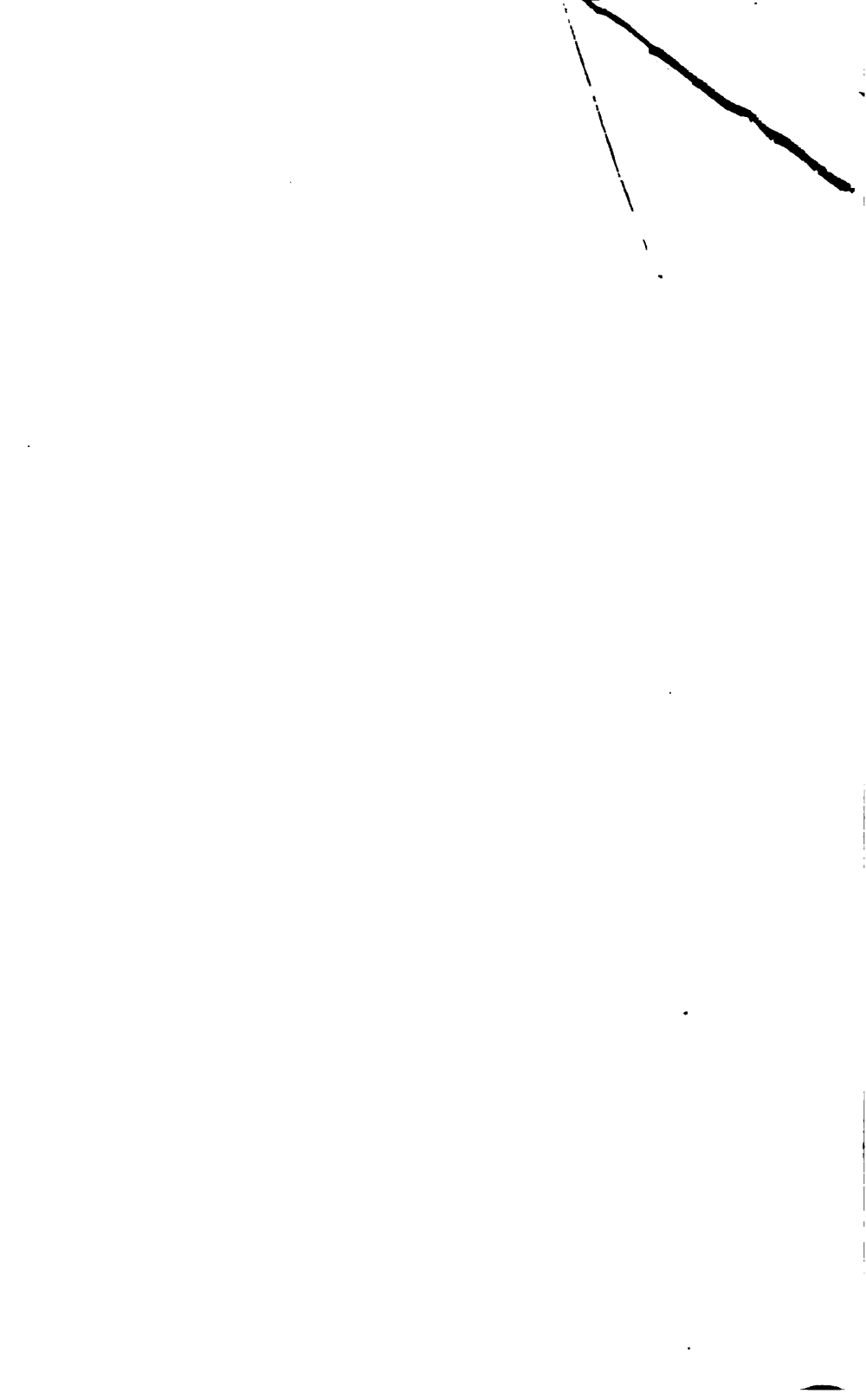
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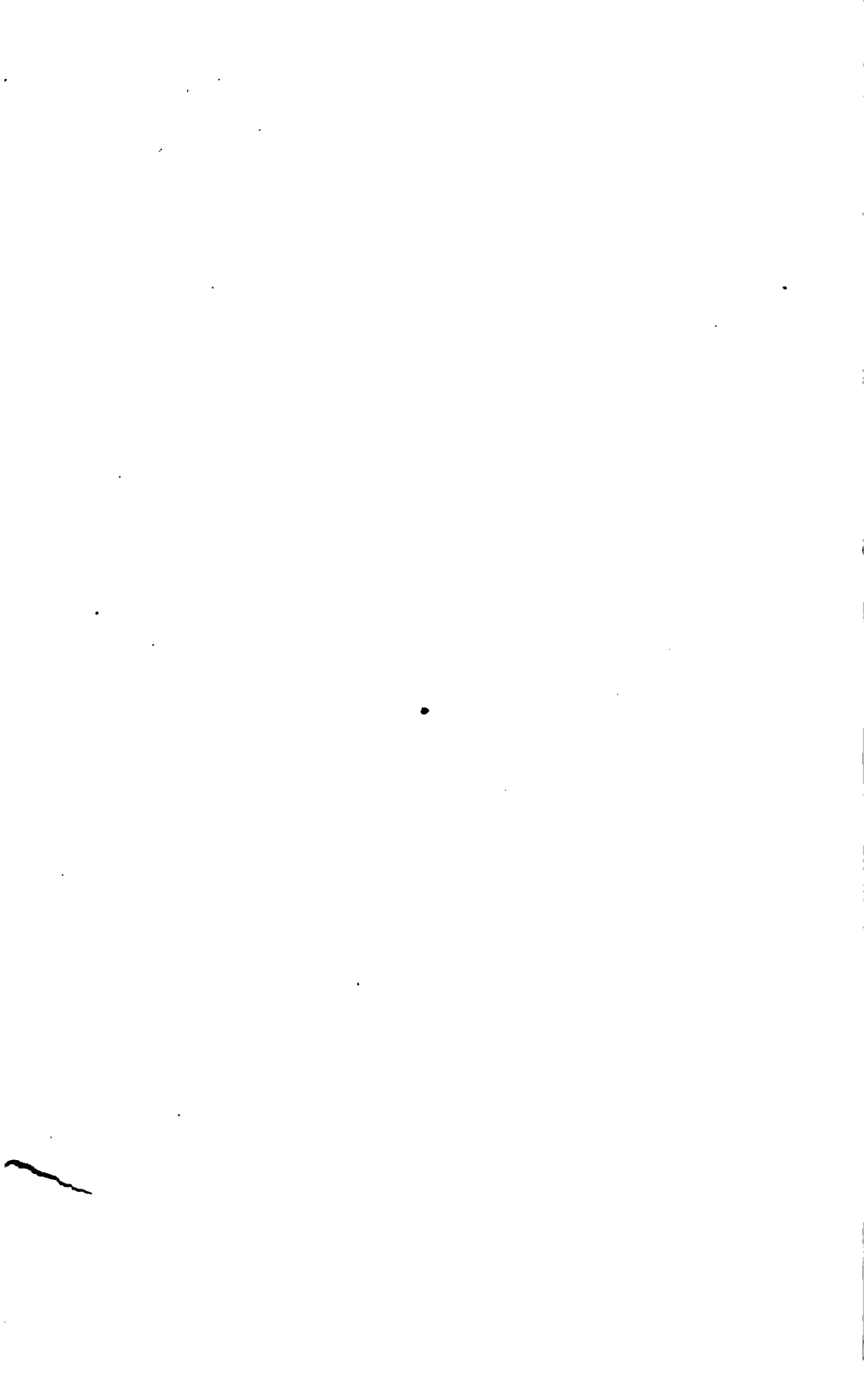
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OF THE

British

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EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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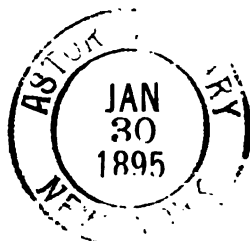
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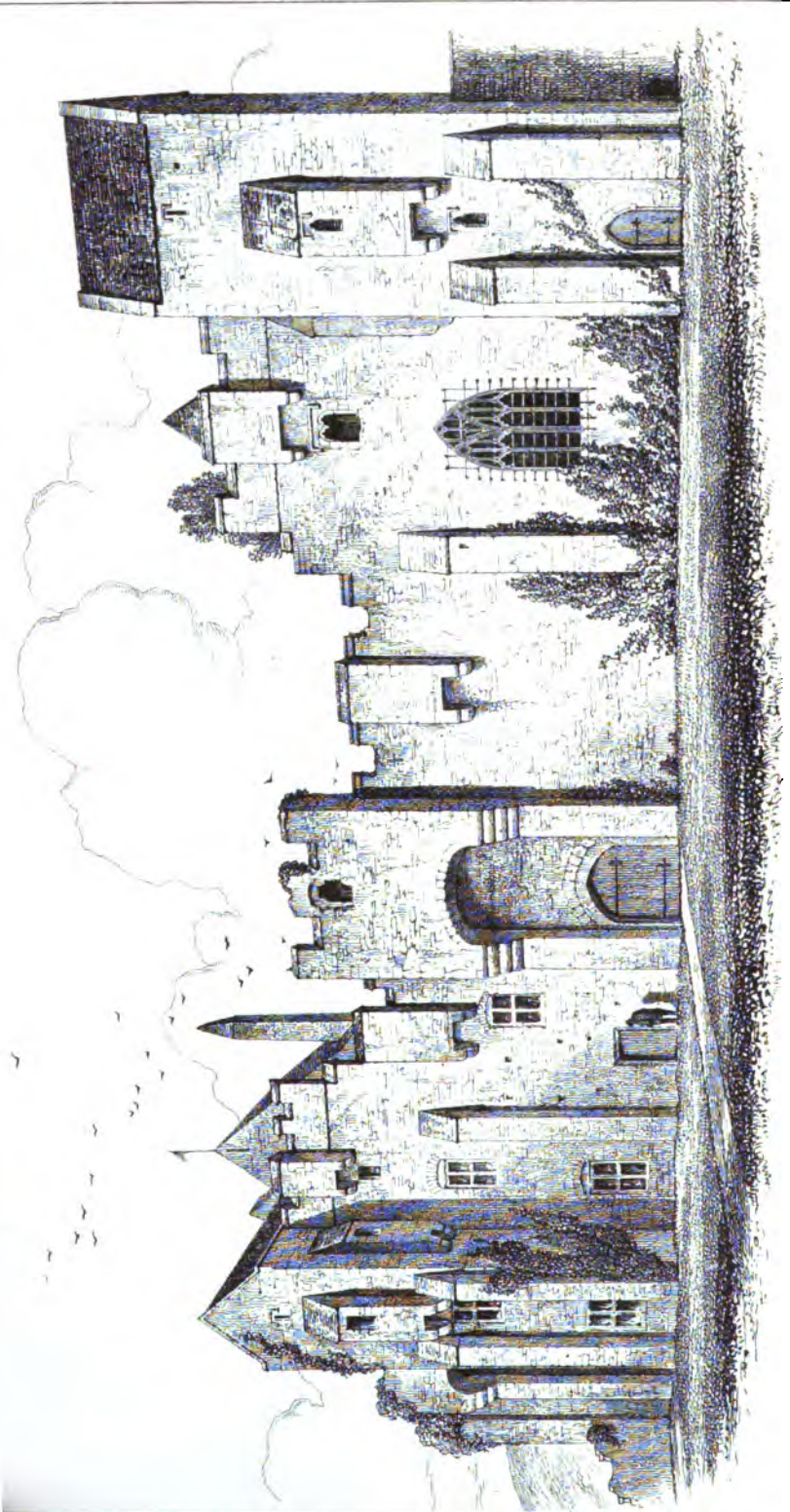
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1868.

COMPTON CASTLE, DEVONSHIRE. ✓

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

THIS specimen of the residence of a gentleman of knightly rank during the fifteenth century, is in the parish of Marlton, about five miles from Newton Abbot. It is mentioned, with short descriptions, both in Lysons's *Devonshire*, and in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, in each case accompanied by a well-drawn view. A nearly perfect specimen of such a building is of rare occurrence, and this, which has been preserved with the loss of only one important feature, seems, therefore, to merit a complete and accurate description, such as it was not within the scope of the writers above mentioned to afford.

Besides that it is a good example of a certain type of building, Compton Castle possesses some peculiarities of its own. Its situation is remarkable, not for strength or commanding position, but for the reverse of those qualifications; on the other hand, from this very cause, the contrivances upon the walls, for the annoyance of assailants, are both unusually numerous and ingenious.

The castle occupies the western half of an oblong court or bailey, which is still enclosed on three sides by lofty walls. The entrance was on the eastern side, but there the wall is now totally destroyed. The site is in a deep valley, and upon its western side, just where the hill-slope begins to rise, stood this eastern boundary wall, the bailey

extending westward about three hundred feet, literally into the hill ; for in order to make the whole court level with the entrance at the east end, the rising ground was dug out over the entire area, forming a wedge-shaped vacuum or cutting, bounded by perpendicular faces of earth on the north, south, and west sides. On the west, where the depth of the cutting was greatest, the earth was left standing fourteen to eighteen feet high. The enclosure walls of the bailey, built up against the earth, but to a nearly uniform height, look lofty from within the court, though they do not rise more than five or six feet above the ground at its highest part. The hilly slopes, to the north and west completely command the interior of the enclosure. The nature of the defence at the entrance can now only be surmised. It was probably a tower gateway similar to that which existed a few years back, at Bradley Manor House, in the immediate neighbourhood, proportioned to the superior size of Compton Castle. A view of the Bradley gatehouse, as it stood early in this century, is given by Lysons. The only other fortification upon the outer walls of Compton Castle appears to have been the existing tower at the south-west angle¹ (L on plan, plate 2), which was placed there for the especial defence of the side entrance to the inner parts of the castle.

The public road passes now, as of old, along the east side of the bailey. In the absence of the gate tower and wall at that part, the whole eastern half of the court is open to the road, and the castle is seen occupying the western part, its front extending nearly across the court, and, by the addition of two short walls at the flanks, completely dividing it. The aspect from this point of view is given in plate 1.

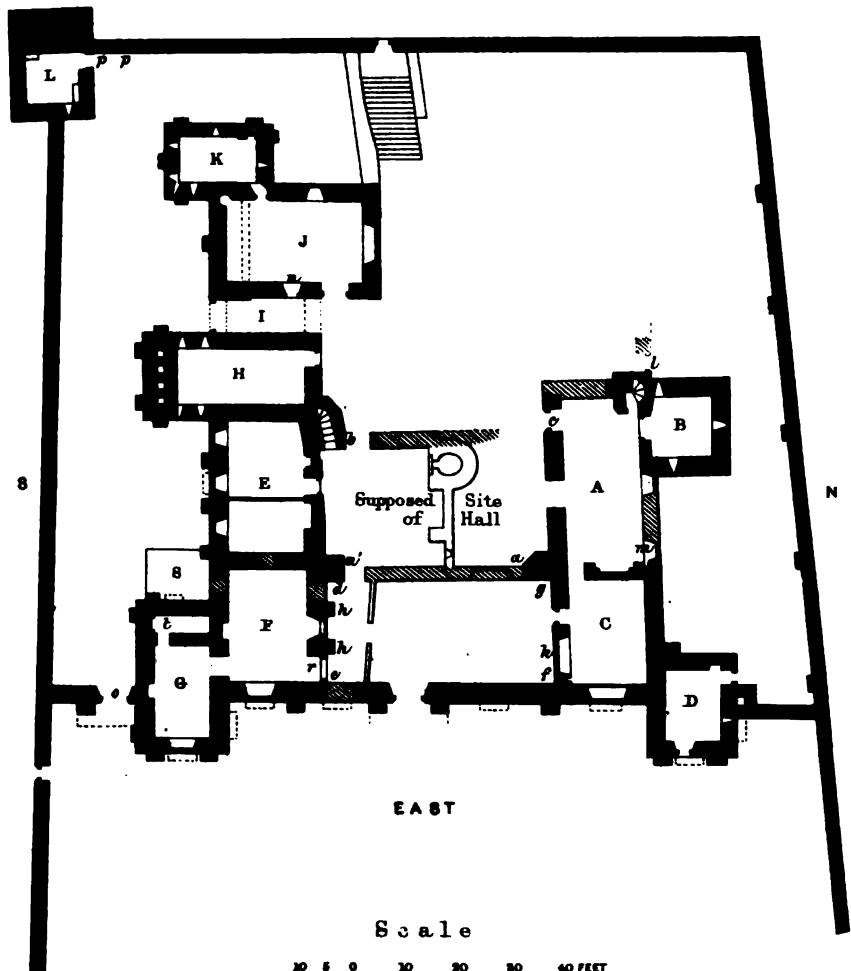
Very little is known of the history of the castle. In the reign of Edward the Second, the estate passed by an heiress from the family of Compton into the family of Gilbert. One hundred and fifty years later (about A.D. 1440), as the architecture of the building shows, the existing castle was erected. The Gilbert family continued to hold it down to modern times. When it ceased to be used as a gentleman's residence does not clearly appear.

¹ In Mr. Parker's short notice, the description of the quadrangular plan of the outer wall is by some confusion applied to the plan of the castle itself, which never was quadrangular; and the flanking towers of the castle are applied to the angles of the outer wall, which never had but one.



GROUND PLAN OF COMPTON CASTLE.

WEST



From a quotation made in the paper by Mr. Spence, which was read when the Association visited the castle, it seems the registers record, that in 1608 "the worshipful knight Sir John Gilbert ended his life 5th July, and was brought from London to his *mansion house* at Compton on the 16th of the same month, and buried in Marldon church on the 19th following." I should conjecture that its owners must have deserted it not many years after, as the marks of modern fittings are confined to a part only of the south wing of the castle, and even that part, from having held the dignity of a farm house, has long had no more dignified occupant than the bailiff or gardener—the present guardian of the place.

The era of the building is very plainly marked by the east window of the chapel, a handsome four-light window of the fifteenth century, seen in the principal front, from which the eye is carried to the smaller windows about it, in the north part, to the four-centred arches of the principal entrance and the postern, all coinciding with that period; and this idea is confirmed by all the original details in the interior. The windows seen in the view, in the southern part of the front, have been modernized.

The building now consists of a north wing, and a much more extensive south wing, the two wings connected together by the wall which completes its eastern front, containing the entrance doorway. Behind this wall, and partly filling up the space between the two wings, are some modern buildings: where they stand was a most important part of the castle, viz., the hall. Its proper position would be in connection with the lord's apartments at the upper end, and with the dependants' and servitors' lodgings and domestic offices at the lower. All these subordinate buildings are in great part preserved, and yet, so completely is the hall destroyed, that its junction with them cannot be accurately defined, and its position can be only approximately determined. Though not wholly satisfactory, the grounds for placing it where indicated on the plan (plate 2), are strong and numerous. The two masses of wall, *d*, *a*, seem to mark the ends of one of its side walls. In the modern doorway, at *b*, are some evidences of an ancient door in the same place; the entrance to the stairs close by is ancient, as well as the stair and turret itself, and, in fact,

the indications that another wall parallel to the first started from this point are undeniable. Thus the side walls of the hall are accounted for. The roof at the south end has left its mark against the wall of the south wing, and some windows in the upper part of that wall are so disposed, by evident arrangement, as to avoid the space which was included within the roof. The difficulty is, that at the north end, from the entire concealment of the wall under a thick veil of ivy, the mark of the roof, if there be any, cannot be discerned, so that although the evidence of its existence is complete at the south end, there is no evidence to show that it extended to the north wing. Nay, the evidence is against its having done so; for if the wall which started from the stair, and contained the door *b*, was parallel to the wall on the other side, its end would, on arriving against the north wing, partly cover (to the extent of ten inches as the measurements shew) the door at *c*. It is certain that this door was not so blocked up, and I could not find upon the side of the north wing, in such an examination as the ivy permits, any trace of the former junction of a wall. In this difficulty, the alternative of another position for the hall must be considered; and the fact that the space *d, e, f, g*, is roofed in now, though distinctly in a rude and modern fashion, suggests the probability of a predecessor to the present roof. The evidences of such a predecessor are distinctly discernible in the marks of its gables against the north and south wings, and of side timbers against the inside of the front wall of the castle. That it was roofed in at a former period is, therefore, beyond doubt, and since the modern roof is old enough to have become dilapidated, and cannot be less, and is probably more than a hundred years old, its predecessor has some title to antiquity. On the other hand, the claim to antiquity can hardly extend to the original design and construction of the castle, for in both its gables it enclosed windows of the topmost apartments of the wings; moreover, the wall at the south end, with its two buttresses, has every appearance of having been designed for an outside wall, and the handsome window, *k*, at the north end, which belongs to the chapel, could only, by a great deviation from ordinary arrangements, be supposed to have been intended for any other than an outside aspect. Lastly, the hall in

this position would have been without windows on its east side, the existing wall being entirely blank at that part. It might be urged that for the sake of defence, there would be no windows in such a position, and that light might have been gained on the other or western side, to which the reply is, that every other original apartment which occurs against the outside wall, is lighted through it, and the same would, therefore, have been the case here, especially as it is quite certain that the large building, which started northwards, from *a b*, seems to have been an original construction, and must have blocked up part, if not the whole of the light which this alternative site for the hall could have obtained westward.

On these considerations it may be held that the space *d e f g* was, originally, a small court open to the sky. Surrounded, as it was by lofty walls, the suggestion of a covering to it arose at some period of alteration, and after its reduction from the dignity of a gentleman's residence—at a time when the upper chambers of the wings had become superfluous, and their lights could consequently be closed without inconvenience.

Thus, I am compelled to return to the space marked on the plan for the site of the hall, and to suppose that the veil of ivy on the north wall, covers some indications of its extent there, which I would gladly have been able to describe. In the absence of such direct proof, the circumstantial evidence is very forcible; the only other alternative which presents itself has necessarily been rejected, and it now remains for me to point out that the appointments of the chambers of the two wings, and of the building generally, are suited to the position of the hall, as indicated on the plan.

In approaching the hall in this position, having passed through the eastern court, around which were the stables and cattle lodges, the entrance for dignified visitors and guests to the interior of the castle was by the door in the centre of the view. The grooves in which the portcullis slid remain, and the piers on each side of the door carry a massive projection overhanging the doorway, and affording means for showering destruction on the heads of unwelcome visitors. The doorway passed the small court before the hall was entered; in front, but rather to the left, at *a'*, was

the entrance to the hall, and within it the lower part of the hall was screened off, forming a passage between the doors at *a'* and *b*. At the left side of the passage would be the buttery, and the door *b* we should expect to lead to the kitchen, as presently we shall find it does. At the north or upper end of the hall would be, and are still, the apartments especially devoted to the worshipful owner of the mansion. The apartment, *A*, in earlier times would have been the "cellar," but in the fifteenth century was the dining room of the great man. Here, at ten or eleven in the morning, his dinner was served, and, according to his estate, he was attended by his steward the chief officer of his house and property, and by the pages and gentlemen of his household, the lady of the house and visitors of quality sharing his state. The apartment is about 31 feet by $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet; whether entered from the hall by a door, where the breach is now, in its south side, or by the existing door at *c*, which a bay window to the hall might have been contrived to include, I will not say. The chamber was lighted by two large double windows to the north, perhaps by a third between them; but the wall is there destroyed, leaving only the extreme jamb of the two windows. The fireplace yet remains at its east end. By a stair at the other end, access was gained to two stories over; the western wall of the chamber is destroyed. A small vaulted apartment, *B*, lies to the north of it. It was, perhaps, his worship's closet or private chamber, but was built with especial regard to the defence of this part of the house, flanking, by its loop-holes, the spaces between the wing of the building and the outer wall. A door jamb at *l*, shows that some work, which carried this wing to a further extent westward, has been destroyed.

From the dining chamber the interior of the chapel was commanded by a loop or squint, *m*, which afforded the occupants of the chamber the means of observing its services without entering the chapel, with which, nevertheless, there was communication by a door. The chapel, *c*, measures 20 feet by 14 feet 4 inches. In its substantial parts it is in very perfect condition. In height it rises through two stories, and is covered with a plain barrel vault. It is lighted by two windows precisely similar in size and pattern, one of which is seen in the front view. For

the accommodation of the subordinates of the house, it communicates by a door with the small court in front of the hall. The communication with the dining room has been noticed, with the arrangement for the privacy of the master of the house. Over the dining room was the withdrawing room, a good room with a fireplace on the south side. A squint in the south-east corner gives a view of the little court, between the hall and the entrance. A window in its east end looked into the chapel, and a door also opened into a gallery, called, in old times, an oriel, which extended across the west end of the chapel. This was for the private and special accommodation of the lady of the house and her associates and attendants. To the north of the withdrawing room, still in perfect condition, is a small chamber, probably a wardrobe. The next storey above contained an extensive suite of rooms extending over the withdrawing room, the chapel, and into the north-west bastion tower. The roof remaining to the room over the chapel was framed with care and symmetry; the room in the bastion tower is furnished with the convenience of a garderober, the shaft from which is seen in the plan. In this tower the apartment at the base is vaulted; it seems to have afforded merely a side and private entrance to the inner courts, for the tenants of the north wing of the mansion; above it, and on a level with the upper part of the chapel, is a room whose only communication seems to have been with the chapel. The door remains, opening through the side of the chapel vaulting in its eastern part. The access was probably by a flight of steps or ladder along the north wall of the chapel; the chamber is provided with a fireplace, and on its north side has a curious sink or water drain, discharging into the shaft which comes down in the solid wall from the garderober of the chamber over. Its connection with the chapel, and its isolation from other apartments, seems to fit it for the priest's chamber.

The hall which connected these apartments with the domestic offices of the south wing, was the dining place of the officers and upper servants of the castle. According to Lord Montague's rules for his household, in 1595, there were four tables in his hall at Cowdray, viz.: the steward's, where that functionary presided and had for his company, his lordship's comptroller, the high steward of the courts,

the auditor, the receiver general, the solicitor, the secretary, and others ; the next table in dignity was that of the gentleman waiters, presided over by the gentleman usher, with the gentlemen of his lordships' chamber, the gentleman of the horse, his lordship's carver and sewer, the marshal of the hall, and others for associates ; the third table was that of the clerk of the kitchen, with the yeoman ushers and waiters, and the chief and second cooks, the brewer, the baker, and others ; the fourth table was for those of the degree of grooms, and the gentlemen's servants. The Cowdray establishment was, of course, much larger than that of the Gilberts of Compton Castle ; but the account given of it is so succinct, that making allowance for the inferior rank of the owner of Compton, a good idea may be formed of the domestic usages there. The meal took place at the same time as that of the knight in the great chamber. During the meal, the officers and servants were bound to acknowledge the dignity of their master, by rising as the yeomen and grooms passed through the hall with the courses for his table, whilst some of them accompanied the procession into the great chamber. The supper, at six o'clock, was conducted with no less ceremony than the dinner.

A part of the lower end of the hall, we have remarked, was divided off by a screen, forming a passage way, upon which opened the buttery, *E*, at the side, and which led by the door, *b*, to the kitchen. The buttery, and two next apartments to the east, with all the rooms over them, have been fitted up for farm house purposes, and the ancient features are, to some extent, concealed and defaced. The opening between the buttery and the chamber, *F*, is modern ; originally they had no connection. In the floors above, the original separation has been broken through in a similar manner. The south wing was, in fact, in three distinct sets : *F* and *G* with two floors over, *F* and three over, *G* formed one set ; *E* and *H*, with two upper floors extending over the passage, *I*, formed the second set, and the kitchen, *J*, and room over, with its tower, *K*, formed the third. The doorway to the buttery, *E*, is ancient, so are the recesses on each side, one of which appears to be the hatch stopped up. The three modern windows, on the other side, have not entirely effaced the marks, which show that three ancient windows preceded them. The apartment is 24 feet by 14

feet 9 inches, but divided by a modern partition. It is highly probable that some such partition belonged to the original arrangement, as the buttery for sack, beer, and claret, and the pantry for bread and pastry, were commonly together in moderate mansions. The apartment, H, whose door lies in the way from the hall to the kitchen, was a larder or cellar, probably both. The larder was important as a store for winter meats. It is vaulted, with a perfectly plain barrel vault, and has no more light than is afforded by four small loop-holes, which served to command the courtyard between this wing and the outer wall. The kitchen, J, is a lofty vaulted chamber, $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 20 feet 8 inches long, up to the front of the chimney breast. The chimney opening is the entire width of the room, the breast wall carried by an arch in a single span. The fireplace is 4 feet 9 inches deep, making the total length of the room 25 feet 5 inches. In the angle of the fireplace is a small oven. At n, is a hatch in the side wall. Connected with the kitchen, is the scullery, K, which is also vaulted and lighted by loops, which are disposed for the defence of two sides of the castle. The scullery forms the base of a tower, containing two floors over, the upper one of which communicated with a chamber over the kitchen. Lord Montague orders for his scullery man that he should have his meals in the scullery, and the kitchen boys with him; and Sir John Haryngton, in his household rules (1566) imposes a fine upon any person, not belonging to the department, who should be found in the kitchen. Such regulations seem well suited to the condition of separation in which the kitchen stands at Compton, with its upper chambers used, no doubt, as the dormitories of the domestics of the kitchen.

Between the kitchen and the larder is a passage-way, I, vaulted, leading into the narrow court between the south wing and the outer wall of the castle yard. By means of this passage and the postern gate at o, there was a secondary entrance to the castle. The gate o, is defended overhead by the same means as the principal entrance, as may be seen in the front view; and should an enemy have succeeded in passing this gate, he would be instantly exposed to assault from the detached tower, L, which commands the whole length of the court inside, and a further advance

would expose him to fresh attacks from the loopholes of the bastion, H, and the tower, K. He could not attempt the entrance at I, except under the eyes of defenders from all these points at once. The tower, L, is of only two stories. Its upper floor, level with the ground outside the castle yard, was approached by a flight of steps, the traces of which remain upon the wall at *p p*.

In proceeding through the domestic offices, we have passed over some materials for observation, to which I now return to complete the description of the centre and eastern part of the south wing. In the centre part—over the buttery, E, and the pantry H, including the passage, I, and approached by the stair from the hall—is a large dormitory, and one room on each of the two floors (divided by modern partitions into small chambers); both floors are provided with a pair of garderobes, the shafts from which are carried down in the solid wall, at the end of the larder, H.

The complete isolation of these apartments, suggests the idea that it may have formed the accommodation for female domestics. It is certain that some of them were provided for in the same wing as the lady of the mansion. For the rest, I know of no guide to enable me to assign a place. The part under consideration seems too large for the purpose, and even with the adjoining apartments, to the east, would not more than suffice for so numerous a body as the gentlemen, the principal officers, the yeomen, upper servants, and occasional guests must have formed.

The inferior yeomen and grooms appear to have slept on pallets in the hall, and even in the great and withdrawing chambers. Lord Montague directs, that the yeomen of the chamber shall rise in time to remove the pallets, "if there be any," from his withdrawing room, to make it clean and sweet with flowers and boughs before attending his lordship's dressing in his own room. Sir J. Haryngton appoints that his servants shall rise at six in summer, and seven in winter, and that none should be up after nine in winter, and ten in summer.

The original entrance (now stopped) to the chamber, F, was from the small court before the hall at *r*. The present entrance, at the other end of the room, is modern. The room was lighted by a large window looking into the court, between the buttresses. The room, G, is vaulted. The

approach to the floors above these rooms is by a modern staircase, erected at s. I can find no trace of the ancient stair, unless it may have been at f, where is an inaccessible space or mass of walling, which may be the commencement of an ancient stair, or the base of a series of garderobes. In these chambers there were bestowed the officers and upper servants, for whom the Cowdray rules direct that they should sleep two in a bed, as the gentleman usher should appoint, "so that a gentleman be matched with a gentleman, and a yeoman with a yeoman." Guests, of rank inferior to the owner, would also find shelter in this part of the mansion.

In thus peopling the old walls with knight and lady, grave officials and gallant yeomen, watchful grooms and busy servants, we recognize the care with which the work was planned, to suit the habits of the age, the fitness of the arrangements, and the completeness with which they have been handed down to us. The more closely we scan the manners of our forefathers, the more shall we be inclined to admit a refinement which it has not been the custom to allow. In no kind of investigation is this more apparent than in the consideration of ancient buildings. The first impression conveyed by the bare and decaying walls and massive vaults is so cold and forbidding, that it has readily obtained currency for the popular notion, that our ancestors cared little for indoor comfort or domestic arrangement. A more particular examination is certain to lead to a different conclusion. Order, the foundation of household comfort, governed every stage of the day, and with the well-established regulations, the dispositions of the building complied in every part. The care for the power and dignity of the owner, for the shelter and protection of his dependants, included provision for the religion and instruction of all, and was blended with an attention to cleanliness, warmth, and freshness, and an abundance of sanitary provisions and humble conveniences which may often put to shame the modern sense on these subjects. In matters of form and appearance, the stateliness of the ceremony may, in description, seem heavy and superfluous; but, as a well-worn habit of the people, it was not so felt, and tradition has ever handed down to us the reputation for the hearty cheerfulness which it regulated and fostered. The description of

the less systematic mode of modern life would be no less heavy for the reader.

Turning from the bearing of the people, to the look of their habitation, abundant records show that the massiveness and strength which security demanded, did not prevent the plentiful introduction of pleasures for the eye. It is almost superfluous to recal to memory the effect of tapestry and pictures, the glowing glass, the rich plate, the carpetings and coverlets of the superior apartments; the varied wainscots and bold carvings, the massive closets, the lockers, the sideboards, and the spacious hearths of the rooms of the next degree; and everywhere the freshness, the redolence and gaiety of flowers in their season, or boughs and festoons of green. With such recollections, the dismantled walls of Compton Castle warm again into comfort and cheerfulness.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CAPTIVITY OF CHARLES I.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

THE circumstances of the captivity of Charles I in the Isle of Wight, have been so minutely narrated by various contemporary writers, and their accounts of it have been so eagerly sought for and printed by modern compilers, that it is almost unnecessary for me to remark that the documents now submitted will throw no new light upon this eventful period of our national history. Still, as every matter connected with the personal adventures and sufferings of the unhappy king are more or less interesting, I hope that the present letters will be thought worthy of attention, inasmuch as they are all in the handwriting of the ill-fated monarch himself, and clearly indicate the strict nature of the *surveillance* under which he was placed, and the indignities which he suffered during his forcible detention in Carisbrooke Castle.

It was on the dark and stormy evening of the 11th of November, 1647, that the king left Hampton Court Palace under circumstances too well known to need recapitulation

here. Upon his arrival in the Isle of Wight, no sooner had Colonel Robert Hammond, the governor, secured his person, after devices which have been fully described by those who witnessed them (such as Ashburnham, Berkeley, and others), than he despatched a letter to Cromwell announcing the fact, and another to the House of Commons, whose order upon the occasion, I shall now read to you, premising that this, and all the other documents to which I shall call your attention, have been copied *verbatim et literatim* from the originals in the British Museum.

The order is in favour of Captain, afterwards Major Edmund Rolph, who was subsequently suspected of a design to murder the king, arraigned upon the charge before both Houses of Parliament, and imprisoned in the Gatehouse, but finally acquitted. It runs as follows :

"By vertue of an Ordinance of both Howses of Parliament of the xxith daie of September, 1643, and xvth of November, 1647. These are to will and require you, out of such threasure as now is or shall be remaining in your hands, to paye vnto Captaine Edward Rolfe the sume of twentie pownds bestowed upon him by the Commons Howse of Parliament, for bringing the letter from the Governour of the Isle of Wight to Mr Speaker [William Lenthall], intimating his ma^{ties} arrival in the Island. And for soe doing, this, together with his acquittance for the receipte therof, shall be your warrant and discharge; and allso to the auditor-generall to allowe the same in your accompte. Dated at the Committee of Lords and Commons, for his ma^{ties} revenue sitting at Westminster, the Sixteenth daie of November, 1647.

"Northumberland.

"Salisbury.

"Hen. Mildmay.

"F. Rous.

"Cor. Holland.

"To our verie loving friend, Thomas Fauconbridg, Esq., Receiver-generall of the revenue.

"Decimo septimo die Novembr. 1647.

"Receiued by me, the within named Edmund Rolfe, of Thomas Fauconberge, Esq., Receyuor-generall for the revenue, the sume of Twenty pound, according to the warrant w^{thin} written, I say Recd.

"xxl., twentie pownds.

Edm. Rolph.

"Wittnes, C. Baker."

Having been thus assured of the capture of the king, the Houses of Parliament issued five "instructions" for his safe

custody, dated, "die Martis, 16 Nov., 1647," and on the 3rd January it was resolved (amongst other clauses) that "it shall be treason for any person whatsoever to deliver any message to the king, or receive any letter or message from him without leave from both Houses of Parliament." Cromwell's expressions upon this occasion are too well known to need quotation here. He was exceedingly rejoiced at the issue of the debate, and I may, perhaps, be excused (although it has been printed elsewhere) for extracting the following passage from his letter to Hammond, which shows not only entire approval of the severe measures taken by that functionary, but his determination to cut off all communication between Charles and his subjects. He says—

"Go on in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord be still with thee. But, dear Robin, this business hath been (I trust) a mighty providence to this poor kingdom and to us all. The House of Commons is very sensible of the king's dealings, and of our brethren's in this late transacting. You should do well, if you have anything that may discover juggling, to search it out, and let us know it. It may be of admirable use at this time, because we shall (I hope) instantly go upon business in relation to them, tending to prevent danger."

During this time the public press was so sarcastic at the expense of Hammond, and publications antagonistic to the views of Cromwell so constantly appeared, that on 6th January, a committee was appointed "to suppress all unlicensed and scandalous pamphlets"; and a hundred pounds reward was offered to any one who would inform against their authors or printers. Nevertheless, an amazing quantity of skits and *pasquinades* were issued anonymously, and several of them, such as the "Crafty Cromwell, or Oliver ordering our new state; a tragical comedy, wherein is discovered the traiterous undertakings and proceedings of this said Nol, and his levelling crew"; "The Machiavellion Cromwellist, or Hypocritical perfidious new Statist"; "The last damnable Designe of Cromwell and Ireton"; and various publications rejoicing in similar euphonious, complimentary, and, I may say, especially at that time, "unparliamentary" titles, excited the public mind to such an extent, that both houses issued a long replication to the charges brought against them, and this was not only given to the members to circulate among their respective constituents,

but a copy was also sent to every church in the kingdom, to be publicly read to the parishioners. Notwithstanding, however, all the precautions taken, both by the Houses of Parliament and the Derby House Committee, and, notwithstanding the severity exercised towards all those who were suspected of espousing the king's cause—as evidenced in the trial and execution of Captain Bailey—there were still true and loyal hearts, who were willing to risk life and liberty in his behalf, and a secret correspondence was kept up between him and a few devoted followers; and some of the king's own letters will prove, not only what extreme caution was, perforce, necessary in maintaining it, but how gratefully the fallen monarch acknowledged the services that were tendered to him by his adherents in this his hour of adversity.

In order, however, that he should not compromise the safety of those to whom he was so much beholden, the king, at this period, adopted a cipher, and the following letters to Henry (afterwards Sir Henry) Firebrace, indicate the anxieties which he suffered, and the nature of the devices which he was forced to adopt, in order that the designs formed for his escape might be concealed from Cromwell's friends and emissaries.

The first letter which I have extracted is without date; but from the circumstance mentioned in it, must have been written in February 1647; for upon the 22nd of that month the Committee reported to the House of Commons that a letter from the Duke of York, partly in cipher and partly in his own natural hand, had been intercepted, and the duke was accordingly called upon to say whether it was his or not. The duke admitted that it was, and the king writes thus, upon intelligence of His Royal Highness's arrest having been forwarded to him.

"D. [Firebrace], I forgot one thing yesternight, w^{ch} is, that you would learne what promis the Duke of Yorke hath made, to the two houses, for not writing to the king or receauing letters from him. Remember to cale to A. [Crosset] for those writings, w^{ch} you ar to deliuer to O. [Mr. Low, a merchant in London] from me. Tell F. [Dowcett] that when he sees me pull doune the skirts of my doublet, then he is to looke for something in the pocket: and so God send you a good journey, and speedy returne. J. [the king].

"Let me know (by your selfe or F.) [Dowcett] that you have receaued thease directions."

The duke was asked by the house to give a promise that he would correspond no more with the king, and to this request he acceded, so that the reply to the unhappy parent's letter, just quoted, and which he looked for with so much anxiety, must have been to the effect that he was debarred from all future communication with his son.

The next letter shows that the king was under constant apprehension that plots against him were formed, even among those by whom he was surrounded; and it appears from one of his published letters,¹ that he was accustomed to scan with a jealous eye even the looks of those with whom he sat at table, as he well knew that there were some of them whom he could not trust, and he was naturally constantly on the watch to detect them.

"D., this inclosed answer to W. [Captain Titus], hath hindered me this night to finishe my London dispatch, but without faile (by the grace of God) I will to morow before noone. But I pray you let me know from whom you had the packet you left me this night; for I believe there is a trick in it, because I cannot imagine from whom it should come. Be sure to looke tomorrow, when I goe to my dinner. J. Monday night."

Upon this occasion, however, he was relieved from his fears; for finding that the packet was from one of the staunchest of his friends, he writes thus in reference to his projected attempt at escape:

"D., since it was W. [Captain Titus] that deliuered you the packet yesternight, I belieue he did it to try if I would leape as [at] such baits; but the answer will fit him, wherfore I hope he has it before now, and I pray you press him to answer me spedely without taking notice of anything; for, faith, I thinke he is honnest, only he desyers it may be to try my witt. You have now the dispatch I promised you; and I desyre you to giue me an account when it goes away; also I pray you so to order things with F. [Dowcett], that if you be turned away, I may not loose my London intelligence. I say not this that I totally dispare of our great business [his escape] (but that you would incourage F., whom I fynd some what fearefull in your absence); for really I believe W. harty and hopefull in it. J.

"Of all this give me an account as soone as you can. I am far from fynding falt with your jealousie, and I hope you will not mislike my confidence."

¹ To Firebrace. See G. Hillier's *Attempted Escapes of Charles I from the Isle of Wight*, p. 105. London, 1862.

The following relates to the same subject :

"D., yours in your ordinarie hand hath much troubled me ; not only that you must goe from hence (w^{ch} really is a greate misfortune to me), but that I cannot restore you that packet I had of you yesternight ; for the truth is, that I sent it to W. [Titus], supposing that some intended to put a tricke upon me, in his name ; wherfore, your just excuse must be, that because he saide nothing to you, you deliuered it to me knowing that he was to wryte at large to me. Now, by what you tell me, if I judge right, you may stay heere for some few dayes yet ; wherfore I desyre you to giue me as much warning, before you goe as you can, that I may wryte by you to London, w^{ch} I belive will be no hard worke ; for since they can proue nothing against you, you may easily obtaine a day or twos respite, after you are discharged ; at least, you may stay for some tyme at Newport ; however, be confident that whereuer you be, I shall remember the seruice you haue done me, and when I am able shall reward it. J.

"I pray you let me know when the packet I left you this morning goes away, and harten F. [Dowcett] to suply your absence. Now I thinke of it, I doubt that you haue not yet giuen my letter (w^{ch} I wrote yesternight) to W. [Titus] ; but if you have not, I desyre you to doe it as soon as you can ; for, take it upon my word, truth is all waies the best excuse for any errors, especially for mistakings, as yours was."

The foregoing letters are without date, but they must have been written in April 1648 ; for at that time a great deal of anxiety was caused to the royal captive by the intercepting of his correspondence. The following letter refers, not only to that circumstance, but also the disguise he intended to adopt in his second attempt at escape, which was planned for the night of the 1st of May, but of which the committee at Derby House had, by some means, obtained immediate notice. The letter runs thus :

"D., I am verrey glad that your mistaking is so well past over, and that, since you must goe, you haue so much warning, for now I will write by you to London ; wherfor I would faine haue you gett leaue to stay untill Monday.

"I desyre you to get me some hard wax and quilles, uncut ; also a paire of gray stockings, to pull ouer my boote-hose, when tyme shall serue for our great business. J.

"The gent. usher's [Osborne's] letter [in cypher], shall be L."

The next letter, which is dated April 27th, 1648, indicates distrust of some, to whom suspicion deservedly at-

tached, together with the adoption of fresh means for securing secrecy, and is as follows :

“D., This note, that you this morning left me, and w^{ch} now I returne to you, I know, by the fowldings, to be the same that I had once inclosed to W. [Titus], and that it is written by N. [Mrs. Whorwood] the villanies she mentions, she suspects O. [Mr. Low] for, and that he is the author of those two passages in the printed paper that I haue scored, wh^{ch} now also I leave you; and (as I told you yesternight), upon my word, you may trust N., and I beline you will fynd her industrious in, and usefull to, my seruice. I pray you take order that I may haue a dispathe conueyed to London, upon Monday or Tuesday next (for I haue two letters of my wyfes to answer), and for this, send me word from Newport, with whom you haue left the care. I haue the stockings and fyles, and shall use your cypher, if L. [Osborne] can make me understand it. J.

“Restore me the printed paper before you goe, if you can, otherwais from Newport. Hereafter let

Will. Legg	}	be	{	C.
My La. Carlile				E.
My wyfe				M.

“And giue notice of this addition both to W. [Titus] and N. [Mrs. Whorwood].

“In points of secresie, give no great trust to E. [Lady Carlisle.]”

Notwithstanding all these precautions, Parliament was furnished with accurate details of all the proposed methods of escape, supplied, as there is reason to believe, by Rolph. Whoever was the traitor, the whole plan was known to them, and on the 4th of May, the Derby House Committee wrote thus to Hammond : “there is an intention to get the king away tomorrow night or Thursday noon. For Sunday a ship is fallen down from hence to Queenborough, whereabout she rides to waft him to Holland. Mrs. Whorwood is aboard the ship, a tall well-fashioned and well-languaged gentlewoman, with a round visage, and pock-holes in her face; she stays to wait upon the king. A merchant is gone from this town last night, or early this morning, to acquaint the king that all things are ready. Four horses lie in or near Portsmouth to carry the King by or near Arundel, and thence to Queenborough. A Parliament man, or one that was one, who liveth near Arundel, is to be the king's guide. The man is supposed to be Sir Edward

Alford. The merchant that is come down to the king, is a lean spare young man. The place by which the king is to escape, is a low room, through a window that is but slightly made up." This attempt also failed, as is well known, because the king could not succeed in getting his body through the window, and Mrs. Whorwood, in her disappointment, writes thus to Firebrace :

" My Friend,—With my best wishes I salute you, nor shall I trouble you with more than to inform you I am happily arrived at the place appointed, and wait the good hour of meeting with our friends (to my griefe and wonder not yet come). What newes you have concerning them, or what may concern your friend, quickly dispatch, to the most longer of letters from you.

" May 13th [1648].

" Yours,

N."

Still, however, this brave and loyal lady did not despair of ultimate success; for on May 17th, 1648, she thus writes again to Firebrace :

" My Friend,—I am of your opinion, O. [Lowe] putt his questions but to sift; for I left a letter for N.'s bedfellow [her husband] sufficient to satisfy him. In what state wee have been, are, and shal be (in relation to our present business) Browne will informe you; I shall only lay an importunity on you of hasting on the busines. I am growne high into fauour of the corporation here, and doubt not to have all the civilities the place [Newport] is capable to show. The wind being contrary, hath much befriended vs, but if it should chance to change (to avoyd suspicion) wee shalbe enforced aboard; but care shalbe taken, as it shall nothing prejudice the effecting our desyres. The passes may happen to be very vsefull, for vpon our late contest with Cap. Cooke, it was resolu'd that our captaine might, without opposition, take any with them into his ship for their passage; wherefore let not (if to be compast) such a put off (if any occasion should require it) be wanting to vs. I am sorry my note tooke noe more effect; but be assured noe money you shall disburse, but at my returne shall, with thanks, by myselfe be repaid you. Pray make all the speed you can, for I lye at very great charge and am in more discontents and feares through this prolongation. Act your part, and be confident of noe faile in,

N."

Truly a noble and lion-hearted lady!

The next letter is from the king, and assures Firebrace that neither he nor his associates in attachment to his royal person, need be under any apprehension of being betrayed by him; and it also refers to the miscarriage of the Earl of

Holland [Henry Rich, beheaded, 9th March, 1649] who was surprised by Michael Livesey, at Kingston-upon-Thames, 7th July, and subsequently fled to St. Neots, where he surrendered to Colonel Scrope.

The letter itself is as follows :

“Monday, July 10th, 1648.

“D., your thought is right, for I did belieue that your last before this, 5th July, had beene from W. [Titus]; but now am confident that I shall mistake no more, and heerafter will direct my letters to you as you haue desyred, as you will finde by the indorsement of this. As for the papers you mention, the truth is, they are burnt; therefor, if you think them necessarie, you must send new. You may be asseured that I shall not discover your way of sending; for, seriously, yet I doe not know it, but when I doe, you may be confident of my secrecie. Commend me to all my friends; particularly to L. [Osborne], Z. [Mr. Worsley], and F. [Dowcett], assuring them that though I haue beene pumpt, yet I nether haue, nor will, say any thing, that may prejudice them. I shall say no more at this tyme, but only to desyre you to send as oft as you can to,

“Your asseured frend, J.

“Since the writing of this, yours of the 3rd of this month is come to my hands, by w^{ch} I know your new way of sending, and herein I promise you exact secrecie. I must now recant my pretended knowledge of your second way, for really I fynde that I was mistaken, and cannot imagen who conueyed it to me. I pray you send me word what is become of N. [Mrs. Whorwood], A. [Cresset], T. [Mr. Burrowes], and O. [Mr. Low], because haueing now had three dispatches from you, I haue heard nothing from any of them.

“There is ill newes come hither concerning the Earle of Holand, I pray God it be not true.

“Be carefull to deliuer this inclosed safely to W.’s owen hands.”

The next letter refers to a somewhat ludicrous fact, upon which is well known that disputes frequently arose between the king and Hammond, and that was the pace at which his majesty walked, and with which the unfortunate governor was by no means able to keep up. It also mentions the voting of a treaty between the king and the Parliament, which would, no doubt, have been carried out equitably at this time, had not the siege of Colchester, the capture of the Duke of Hamilton, and other concomitant circumstances, to which it would be superfluous to refer, put an end to the hopes of the royalists, and enabled Cromwell to dictate

those terms which were submitted to Charles at the treaty of Newport. The letter is dated July 21st, 1648, and is in these words :

"D., yours of the 17th of this month, together with those from M. [the queen], N. [Mrs. Whorwood], and E. [Lady Carlisle], I receaved upon Wedensday last, to all w^{ch} you will heare with receaue answers. Now though I returne my letters to you by an other hand than that by w^{ch} yours comes to me, doe not thinke that I mislyke or distrust your way ; for there is such a necessity in it as I cannot particularly tell you of it, without more troble to me then it is worth, espetially hauing no cypher with you but the alphabet, w^{ch} I finde most tedious, and much subject to error ; wherefor, I pray you, rather send to me both waise then forsake your owen ; the uncertainty where my eldest sone is, makes me now not write to him ; besyds thease other three letters hath taken up so much tyme, that I am unwilling to stay this dispach any longer. I thanke you for your newes, in returne to w^{ch} I cannot but tell you of an accident (w^{ch} we royalists take for a good omen) w^{ch} was, that the gouernor, upon Wednesday last, walking close by the king, upon a slip, fell flat of his backe, not at all disordering the king's pase, more then by lafing at the falle. Commend me to B. [Mistress Mary, assistant to Lady Wheeler, the king's laundress], and H. [Lady Wheeler], telling them that now, since a treaty is voted, I think possible that they may gett leave to waite, as they have done, w^{ch} I would haue them try to obtaine, because I know it would please the king well. Still remember to send as often as you can to

"Your asseured frend, J.

"I desyre you to continue the sending me of the printed Weekly Newes."

The next letter has reference to the plot which was said to have been formed by those around the king, for taking away his life ; and for which, as I have already mentioned, Major Rolph was now suffering imprisonment. The king calls it "Osborne's business," because the latter was the person who first gave information of the alleged conspiracy ; and the letter, which is dated 1 Aug., 1648, reads thus :

"D., upon Saturday last, in the afternoone, I made dispach to you, and that night after supper I receaved yours of the 27 of July, wherein I had 2 letters from M. [the queen], one from E. [Lady Carlisle], and none from N. [Mrs. Whorwood] : it is no purpose to write to G. [the Prince of Wales] or S. [the Duke of York] untill I know where they are : I have now written clearly to E. concerning what the king said of the Gouernor, or in relation to Osbornes busines ; as for

Robinsons report, it is such a nonsense; no boddy can believe it; for albeit the king does not suspect the Gouvernor would murder him; must it therfor follow, that he likes his basse imprisonment, certainly, he hath not beene bred up, in such a sedentary lyfe, that he likes to be coopt up; nor is he of so indifferent a disposition as to be content to haue noboddie about him that he can with anie reason trust.

"The other letter heerinclosed to wq ce pw hemwm gz: in answer to on I receaued, in this your last packett, w^{ch} I believe, you thought had been from N.

"I send you this by my way, because those of your conueyance neuer giues account when my packets goes away; so that I still in feare of their not going untill the answer come from you: for example; I hope to receaue to morrow from you an answer to that I wrote to you upon Wednesday last (w^{ch} was by your way) but I have no account of it whether it be gone or not: I have now no more to say; but to thanke you for & desyre you to continue, your diligent writing to

"Your assured frend

J."

On the 15th of September it was resolved that Charles should be allowed to quit Carisbrooke, in order to meet the parliamentary commissioners; and on the 27th November the memorable treaty of Newport was concluded. During this time the king dated his correspondence from "our court at Newport." This semblance, however, of his restoration to kingly rights was in reality but "the beginning of the end"; for he was still kept under *surveillance*, although there is little doubt but that he might, had he been so inclined, at this time have effected his escape. Things, however, were otherwise ordained; and on the 30th of November he was lodged in Hurst Castle, from whence he writes the following letter:

"Tuesday, 5 Decem. 1648.

"D., this is, lyke poore mens giftes to greate persons, to gaine by giuing; for the litle or no newes I send you, to haue a great deale from you &, for this one letter, to haue many: to w^{ch} end, I pray you comend me to A. [Cresset], E. [Lady Carlisle], K. [Lady D'aubigny], N. [Mrs. Whorwood], T. [Mr. Burrows], and W. [Titus], telling them that this trusty bearer H. [Lady Wheeler] will show them the way how they may write to me: For newes, we haue not yet hard one word eater from the Army, or Westminster; & hitherto the king is ciuilly vsed: So I rest

"Your assured frend

J.

"Excuse me to all my abouenamed friends, for hauing written to none of them at this tyme; this being only to recetle my intelligence with them. Assure F. [Dowcett] that I cannot forgett him."

On the 21st the king was brought from Hurst to Windsor; and on the 12th the following warrant was issued for the payment of his expenses during the negociations at Newport :

“By vertue of an ordinance of both Howses of Parliament of y^e xxjth day of September 1643. Theis are to will & require you, out of such threasure, as now is, or shall be remaining in your hands, to pay vnto Mr. John Lee y^e some of five hundred pounds, to be by him issued upon accompt for y^e defraying of y^e expence of y^e king, from y^e time of ending the late treety at Newport in y^e Isle of Wight. And for so doing, this togeather with his acquittance for y^e receipt thereof shall be your warrant and discharge, and also to y^e Auditor Generall to allow y^e same in your accompt. Dated at y^e comitte of Lords & Comons for his Ma^{ties} renew, sitting at Westminster, the xijth day of December, 1648.

“Pembroke & Mont[gomery].

“Salesbury.

“Hen. Mildmay.

“Denis Bond.

Cor. Holland.

“To our very loving friend Thomas Fauconbridge, Esq.

Receivor Generall of the Reyenue.

“Decimo quarto die Decembri, 1648.

“Receiued for the vse of the within named Mr. John Lee of Thomas Fauconberge Esq. Recou^r Gen^lall of the Revenue the some of five hundred pounds in full accordinge to warr^t within wrytten. I say rec^d v^{ch}.

“John Crych.”

The destitute condition in which the servants and dependents of the late royal family were left after the execution of the king, is apparent from the following warrant issued by “the Committee for the Publique Revenue, sitting at Westminster the xxiiijth of May, 1649”:

“Ordered; that Mr. Fauconbridg Receiver Generall of the Publique Revenue doe paye & distribute smale sumes of money not exceeding fortie shillings apeece vnto such seruants of the late king, queene, & their children, as he in his discretion shall see cause, *for to keepe them from starving*, in part of what moneys are due vnto them vpon their wages, or otherwise. And that the said Receivor Gen^l be allowed what moneys he shall paye according to this Order, vpon his accompte for this yeere.

“P. Lisle.

“H. Vane.

“Greg. Norton.

Hen. Mildmay.

“J. Edwardes.

Cor. Holland.

"Endorsed.—M. Fauconbridg.

"Kings servants xxxiiijth pd' att xlth p' se."

As all the letters from the king, which I have read, were addressed to his faithful and most constant adherent, Henry Firebrace, I may perhaps be pardoned for introducing one which does not properly belong to this, but to the succeeding reign. It was written, as you will perceive, at a date when fellows of colleges were allowed to be "*bene nati, bene vestiti, et modicè docti*," and not in these vexatious times of civil service examiners, to whom, in all probability, not even the loyalty of a Firebrace would be a sufficient recommendation for a snug berth on the foundation. The letter is addressed to "our trusty and well beloved, the Master [Dr. Isaac Barrow] and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, in our University of Cambridge," and runs thus :

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty & well beloved we greet you well, having received ample testimonie of y^e sobriety & learning of Hen. Firebrace, Batchelour of Arts & Scholar of y^e our Colledge, whereby he might justly promise himself a promotion to a fellowship there and humble suit having been made unto us in his favour y^e considering the disappointment he is under in those his hopes by yo^r putting off the election, & the hazard he may runn of being wholly frustrated in that his expectation, without our royall interposition in his behalfe, we would gratusly please to grant him our royall letters for his admission into a fellowship in y^e our said colledge. Wee taking the same into princely consideration & being gratusly willing as well to encourage y^e said Henry Firebrace in his future studies as to gratify y^e father of y^e said Henry being nearly related to our service, we have thought fitt hereby to signifie our will & pleasure to you and accordingly to command & require you immediately upon y^e receipt of these our lett^{rs} to admitt y^e said Henry Firebrace into y^e first fellowship that now is or shall hereafter become vacant in y^e our said colledge, any statute, custome, or usage to y^e contrary in any wise not withstanding. Wherein expecting yo^r ready compliayce we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, y^e 12th day of October, 1673.

"By his Ma^{ties} command

"Arlington."

It is hardly necessary for me to observe that the royal nominee was duly elected; and on the 13th of May, in the ensuing year, he was enabled to add "*Trin. Coll. Socius*" to his name, in remembrance of his father's loyal attachment to the cause of royalty.

NOTES RELATING TO THE
 PROCEEDINGS OF CHARLES I FROM THE
 STORMING OF LEICESTER TO THE
 BATTLE OF NASEBY.

BY SIR H. HALFORD, BART.

[Communicated to the Treasurer for the Congress at Leicester.]

I HAD intended to collect and put together from the weighty volumes of Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*, and other sources, such scattered particulars connected with the part taken by the then possessor of this place¹ in the Civil War as might seem likely to be of interest to your society, but I soon found this would require more delay, and involve a larger trespass upon you than I should be justified in making. I propose, therefore, to confine myself to the few days which elapsed between the taking of Leicester, May 31st, 1645, and the Battle of Naseby.

The storming of Leicester was, as is well known, an occasion of great triumph to the friends of Charles, and of much alarm and mortification to those opposed to him. In illustration of the former feeling I may be allowed to transcribe an epigram, written on the instant, by Robert Herrick, of a family connected with Leicestershire, in which, as Nichols justly observes, he shows himself more of a poet than a prophet.

"This day is yours, great Charles; and in this war
 Your fate and ours alike victorious are.
 In her white stole now Victory doth rest,
 Ensphered with palm on your triumphant crest;
 Fortune is now your captive, other kings
 Hold but her hands, you hold both hands and wings."

Alas, poor Charles! the sanguine poet little dreamed how soon the fortune of Victory would shake herself loose for ever, both hands and wings, from his grasp.

The siege of Leicester by the king's army had been designed as a diversion from that of Oxford, the king's chief garrison, by the army of Fairfax, and such was the immediate effect on the news of its success speedily reaching the parliament in London; but Charles does not appear to have been equally well supplied with intelligence, and

¹ Wistow Hall, near Leicester, the seat of Sir Henry Halford, Bart.
 1863 4

on Wednesday, June 4th, he set out from Leicester towards Oxford with an army diminished by the necessity of leaving a garrison at Leicester ; proceeding himself to " Sir Richard Halford's at Wistow," where he lay that night, as appears by the *Iter Carolinum*.

Evelyn's *Memoirs*, first published in two handsome quartos, in 1818, have, subjoined, the private correspondence between Charles I, moving with his army, and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, stationary at Oxford. There appears, in this collection, a letter written by the king, evidently at Wistow, although, by a singular negligence, the editor prints the date of place Wiston, and suggests, in a note, the probability that it was in Nottinghamshire ! With the necessary correction the letter is as follows :—

" Wistow, 4 June, 1645.

" Nicholas,—I have receaved yours of the 30 May this morning, none of yours having miscarried ; but I would not answer any of them myselfe until I were marching towards you, without thinking of any thing else before I have relieved you. Yet I must deale freely with you, that my army is so weake, being not 4000 foote and scarce 3500 horse. As I shall unwillingly hazard to relieve Oxon before Lord Goring or Gaccarde be joined to me, except such an absolute necessity that Oxon will be lost if not relived by such a day. Wherefore, as you love my preservation, use all possible means of prolonging your provisions, though it be by chasing out all unnecessary people who have not provision for themselves, and stinting every one, the Duke of York not excepted, to a small proportion of meate every daye, and doe not hasten me to you without very very absolute necessity, for upon the faith of a Xtian noe time shall be lost for your succour—how soone it may be done with any probability of not hazarding like madmen. I shall stay at Harborow, which is my morrow's march, some time, to gather up stragglers and to make provision to supply you for this service, and then we shall march faster or slower according to intelligence. So I rest,

" Your most assured friend,

" CHARLES R."

From Wistow the king marched, as appears by the *Iter Carolinum*, on June 5th, to Lubbenham, to Mr. Collins, close to Harborough, and remained there the following day, creating great alarm among the Parliamentary officers at Northampton lest he should advance thither ; but he turned aside with his main army and marched, June 7th, to " Daventre, the Wheatsheaf, from whence Oxford was relieved

from a siege and victualled." From Daventree he writes again to Nicholas.

"June 9, 1645.

"Nicholas,—I have received so many letters from you that I believe none of them have miscarried, and this morning one from you of the 7th, and with it one of the same date from all my Commissioners, except Southampton and Dorset, by which I perceive they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest: but the chief end of this is by you to send this enclosed to 454; tell 394 that I have received his of the 16-26 of May, but would not stay this messenger till it was desyphered. I will say no more now; but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances than you Oxfordians are like to have this somer, we may all expect, probably, a mery winter.

"Your most assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

It thus appears that Charles first received intelligence of the raising of the siege of Oxford on his arrival at Daventree on June 9th. He writes again:—

"Daintry, 11 June, 1645.

"Nicholas,—As I thank you for adverticing me, so I much wonder at the letter and message w^{ch} the Lords brought me; for you know that the councell was never wont to debate upon any matter not propounded to them by y^e King: and certainly it were a strange thing if my marching army (espetially I being at the head of them, and) should be governed by my sitting councell at Oxon, when it is scarce fitt for myselfe, at such a distance, to give any positive order—and, indeed, it added to my wonder that Vulpone could not hinder this: as the governor told me he did such another indiscreete motion but few dayes agoe: however, I desyre you to take the best care you may that the like of this be not done hereafter, of w^{ch} I will say no more, having freely and fully spoken of it to 406, Lord Hatton, to whom I refer you, and rest

"Your most asseured frend,

"CHARLES R.

"The Governor hath earnestly desyred me to thanke Vulpone and your selfe for the great assistance ye have given him in my absence, w^{ch} I hartily doe, desyryng you to continew so; for I find he will have neede of all helpes.

"Endorsed. 'R:' 14 Junii 1645. The King to me concerning the 1th sent his Ma^{ty} by the councell when he was at Daintree."

On June 13th, the day before the battle of Naseby, Charles returned to Lubbenham, whence he wrote again:

"Lubnam, June 13, 1645.

"Nicholas,—This is first to send this enclosed by your means to the Queen, then to let you knowe you are like to hear of me to-morow. I

march to Land Abay, after that to Melton, and so to Belvoir; but I asseure you that I shall looke before I leape farther North: but I am going to supper. So I rest your most asseured frend,—CHARLES R.

“Wolverhampton, 17 June. This was written before the Battaile.”

This letter is curious, as showing how entirely unexpected by Charles was the battle of Naseby until almost the morning of the day on which it was fought.

The “Land Abay” mentioned is Lamde Abbey, lying on the road between Lubbenham and Belvoir, and at that time the property and residence of Mr. William Halford, a relative of Sir Richard Halford’s. Charles’s plans, indicated in this letter, were put to confusion at a midnight council before he had the opportunity of dispatching it, and he must have had it about him at Naseby and in his flight.

From the rout at Naseby Charles fled to Leicester, the remains of his cavalry making here and there a stand against their pursuers, as is attested by remains occasionally discovered between the two places, as of men slain in battle and hastily inhumed. In particular, at Killy, about a mile and a half from this place, a very few years ago, a confused mass of bones of men and horses was turned up very near the spot where was then the residence of a son of Sir Richard Halford’s, as if an encounter had taken place at the very door.

It seems probable that Charles first drew bridle at Wistow, about thirteen miles from Naseby; that he was there supplied with a fresh horse, leaving the royal saddle, too remarkable for a fugitive, proceeding on immediately to Leicester, and thence on the same night to Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

There are two saddles, both of crimson silk velvet, which have remained here ever since.¹ The one, of which there can be no doubt it was that used by Charles in the battle, is very handsomely embroidered, and the same as that on which he is represented at Charing Cross, as nearly as I can discern through the thick covering of soot enveloping the statue. The other it is not unreasonable to suppose *might* have been that of Prince Rupert.

Sir Richard Halford was an old man during the Civil war; he survived, however, until 1658, dying at the age of seventy-eight, and lies buried in Wistow church, where

¹ Exhibited to the Association at the Congress.

there is a handsome alabaster monument to his memory, and that of two sons who died, one a year before and the other a year after their father, erected by his surviving children, and contained in a small chapel apparently built for the purpose, and separated from the body of the church by a pair of spiked iron gates placed there, as appears by the epitaph, not without some meaning in reference to the temper of the times and the part taken by the deceased. The lines are somewhat rude, but not without force, and the deprecatory style in which they appeal to the sentiment of natural affection to protect the remains of a father against the old testament zeal of the followers of Cromwell, approaches to the pathetic.

“ Hence, profane axes, hammers, all the dire
Engines of cursed heathenish deformation.
No superstitious Baalite did inspire
Us to adore our Father’s generation ;
’Twas humble duty to our aged sire,
And honored parents laid the first foundation.
Pass not the pikes, touch not the sacred tomb,
Unless you turn in there to read your doom.
’Tis death to wrong the dead—such sacriledg
As dreadful is as Achan’s golden wedg.”

Sir Charles Halford, the last baronet of the original creation (by Charles I, in 1642,) died without issue in 1780, and at the decease of his widow, the son of Dr. Vaughan, of Leicester, the late Sir Henry Halford, descended on the mother’s side from the Halfords of Wistow, took the name, and succeeded, under Sir Charles’s will, to the house and estate of Wistow. I should not have obtruded this piece of information on you, but for the fact, a little remarkable, that the family connection with the history of Charles I was in a manner renewed in the part taken by my late father on the occasion of the opening of the coffin of Charles, in St. George’s chapel, at Windsor, by order and in the presence of the Prince Regent, in 1813, for the purpose of clearing up a doubtful point of history with regard to the place of his burial.

British Archaeological Association.

**NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,
LEICESTER, 1862,**

AUGUST 4TH TO 9TH INCLUSIVE.

PATRONS.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, *Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire.*
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., P.R.A.S.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE WORSHIPFUL SAMUEL VICCARS, Mayor of Leicester.
THE WORSHIPFUL H. P. MAREHAM, Mayor of Northampton.
THE EARL OF DENBIGH.
THE EARL OF STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON.
THE EARL HOWE.
THE LORD BERNERS.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN MANNERS, M.P.
THE REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.
THE HON. MAJOR H. L. POWYS KECK.
SIR CHARLES ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.
SIR WILLIAM DE CAPEL BROOKE, BART.
SIR HENRY HALFORD, BART.
SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.
CHARLES WILLIAM PACKE, Esq., M.P.
WM. U. HEYGATE, Esq., M.P.
P. A. TAYLOR, Esq., M.P.
MAJOR WOLLASTON, President Leicestershire Archaeological Society.
REV. C. C. COE, Pres. Literary and Philosophical Soc. Leicester.
JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.
NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents—continued.

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 REV. C. H. HARTSHORNE, M.A.
 JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.
 MARCUS HUISH, F.G.S.
 GEORGE VERN IRVING.
 THOMAS TERTIUS PAGET.
 WILSON PEARSON, LL.D.
 T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
 S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A.
 SAMUEL STONE, Town Clerk, Leicester.
 THOMAS WAKEMAN.
 THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

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JOHN ALGER	GEORGE MAW, F.S.A.
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REV. J. H. HILL, Cranoe Rectory	RICHARD LUCK, Leicester
REV. E. TOWER, Earl's Shilton	GEO. C. NEALE, Skeffington
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ALFRED BURGESS, Leicester	THO. NORTH, Leicester
ALFRED ELLIS, Leicester	JAMES THOMPSON, Leicester, <i>Local Sec.</i>
HENRY GODDARD, Leicester	JOSEPH WHETSTONE, Leicester

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Honorary Secretaries { J. R. PLANCHÉ, Esq., Rouge Croix.
 H. SYER CUMING, Esq.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., Member of the Institute of France.

Palæographer—CLARENCE HOPPER, Esq.

Curator and Librarian—G. R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 4.

THE officers and committee assembled at 11 a.m. in the mayor's parlour, to make arrangements for the proceedings, which commenced at 3 o'clock, when the mayor (S. Viccars, Esq.), together with the town clerk, chairman of the Museum Committee, and other members of the town council, received the president, members, and visitors of the congress at the Guildhall.

The MAYOR said : Mr. President, and Members of the Archæological Association,—Allow me to say that I congratulate you on your presence among us, and that the Corporation of Leicester give you their most hearty welcome. Some of us have not had the advantages which most of you, if not all, possess : our time and talents have been devoted to commercial pursuits, which have to a great extent interfered with those pursuits with which you are particularly identified. However, on this occasion I feel a deep interest in the societies you represent. We owe to you, Mr. President, and your honourable colleagues in this noble pursuit, that a great many improvements have been made of late in architecture, and also in archæological studies. Let me congratulate you on this occasion on your presence here. I trust every member of this corporation feels deeply interested in the subjects which you have so kindly brought before us. Many of us are not acquainted with architecture ; some of us do not understand much about archæology ; but we all feel an interest in these societies, and shall be disposed to do all in our power to facilitate your endeavours on this occasion. Leicester is in almost every sense of the word a commercial town : we are men of business rather than men of art and science ; but, whilst I say this, I do not mean anyone to suppose for a moment that we have not many scientific men amongst us. I trust that we have many members of our Corporation who will be able to afford you considerable facilities in your pursuit. We congratulate you, sir, on your coming among us ; and we hope and believe that your presence here to day, and during the week, will be a means immediately, but more especially

ultimately, of affording to the society with which you are so closely identified, the means of developing those matters with which you are connected. I will not trespass upon your time more than to say that we shall feel disposed to do whatever we can to promote the objects you have in view, and I now beg to call upon our town clerk to read the address of the Corporation.

The TOWN CLERK then read as follows :—

“The Mayor and Members of the Corporation of Leicester hereby tender to the British Archaeological Association their sincere congratulations on the occasion of their holding their Congress in the Guildhall of this ancient Borough.

“Although this borough possesses few buildings of architectural beauty, and the county presents few attractions in natural scenery, we venture to hope that a county rich in the remains of Roman antiquity, and which has been the scene of many important historical events—a county in which Lady Jane Grey lived, and in which John Wickliffe was buried; where Hugh Latimer was born, and Cardinal Wolsey died—will not be without interest to the members of this Association.

“The Corporation desire to convey to you their sincere wishes for the success of your present meeting, and for the prosperity of your most valuable Institution.”

The PRESIDENT then rose to deliver his address. He said: Mr. Mayor and gentlemen of the Corporation of Leicester,—I assure you, sir, we feel deeply the very kind expressions which you have been so good as to address to us on this occasion. We have already received much kindness and attention from many of your members; and we anticipate the result of our visit here to be most successful and gratifying to us, and, I hope, in some degree, useful to you. I will, therefore, now, with your permission, make a few remarks, it being generally the custom of the person who has the honour to be the President on these occasions to address the company who favour us with their presence.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE BY THE PRESIDENT.

At the close of the year 1843 a few of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, under the prevalence of a zealous feeling, and stimulated by a spirit of inquiry in the pursuit of antiquarian information, communicated to each other their anxious desire, not only to tread in the footsteps of continental antiquaries, meeting in Congress for the examination of special objects, but also to form a nucleus to which all discoverers of antiquities, whatever might be their position in life, or the advantages of education, which they had received, might direct their contributions for early publication, under the superintendence of

a Board or General Central Committee (as it was named), by which unity of supervision and well qualified selection could be obtained.

The proposals founded upon these views were put forth at a time peculiarly opportune, inasmuch as excavations were then extensively in progress in the formation of railways throughout the kingdom, and numerous productions were being daily exhumed, which shewed the absolute necessity of some directing agency, and a demand for appropriate arrangement of the objects acquired. No sooner were these intentions made public, than numbers of antiquaries flocked to join the body, and it was proposed to call it "The British Archæological Association for the Encouragement and Prosecution of Researches into the Arts and Monuments of the Early and Middle Ages." The adherents constituted a large number of the fellows and members of the most distinguished literary, antiquarian, and scientific societies of the kingdom, with whom it was proposed to hold intercourse, and in addition, it was also resolved that communications with foreign societies, having similar objects, should be established as a means of examination and comparison of the antiquities of the several localities. The first Congress was speedily determined upon, for in the autumn of 1844, it was resolved to hold a meeting at Canterbury, there to direct attention especially to the cathedral, and at the same time not to neglect the exploration of the barrows of the vicinity, to illustrate the early history of the county by examination of the arts' produce to be therein discovered. In this career Lord Albert Conyngham had, with much taste for antiquarian pursuits, been previously engaged, and had, indeed, already commenced at his seat, Bourne Park, to form the nucleus of a museum. His lordship was speedily chosen to rule over the association, and as president of the body he continued with us until 1850. The success of the first attempt gave great stimulus to the exertions of local antiquaries, and others interested in such researches; many objects of considerable interest were being discovered, and as speedily laid before the central committee, by whom a journal was established which soon commanded an extensive circulation throughout the country.

The matters thus brought under notice were subjected to judicious arrangement. *Primæval* antiquities were separated from *mediæval*. The peculiarities of the objects found in different counties were for the first time properly classified, and with a precision in regard to their materials and character wholly unknown to former times. It is impossible to estimate too highly the advantages that have arisen from this proceeding; but as there is no good in this world without its alloy, it is to be feared that the great success of its establishment served to excite jealousies, which being fostered, caused animosities, that at one time even threatened the existence of the original body.

These ultimately led to a separation of the association into two divisions, and distinct societies, and as a proof of the just notions of the original projectors of the Archæological Association, it may be stated, that abundance of matter has been found for each, and the public have been benefited by the production of numerous volumes, which must ever for the future be resorted to by the historian and antiquary. It is gratifying, however, to be able to state that now all feelings of animosity or jealousy have ceased to exist between the two branches, that the Archæological Association and the Archæological Institute are now alike active in the pursuit of their objects, that many members belong to both of the bodies, and that a good understanding prevails between the societies, who make an interchange of their publications. Henceforth, therefore, let all invidious distinctions disappear, let rivalry alone exist, and let the measure of praise be given to all who successfully labour in carrying out the purposes of their establishment.

Upon the retirement of Lord Albert Conyngham, and upon his assuming the title of Lord Albert Denison, and subsequently that of Lord Londesborough, it became the practice of the British Archæological Association to appoint a president for each year, selecting generally some nobleman distinguished in art or science, or other president of influence in the county proposed to be visited, and in which the annual congress was to be held. Under this system the association has indeed been truly fortunate, and the Presidencies of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Aylesbury, the Earl of Albemarle, the Earl of Carnarvon, Sir Oswald Moseley, Bart., Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., Mr. Bernal, Mr. Heywood, and Mr. Botfield, have shed no inconsiderable lustre on the proceedings.

I could have earnestly desired that on the present occasion the position which I have the honour to fill had been maintained by some one of eminence in the county of Leicester; but whether arising from the pressure of other engagements, or a dread of not so successfully displaying the antiquities of the county as had hitherto been done, we have not been successful in this point, and it is, therefore, at the unanimous request of the council, that I, as an original member of their body, and for several years on its council, and as a vice-president, have undertaken the office. Under these circumstances you cannot expect from me any account of the history and antiquities of the county. I could render such to you only by condensing the particulars given in well-known historical and antiquarian works connected with the county, to which all have equally with myself a facility of access. It must also be stated, that our most anxious desire on these occasions is to bring forth what is new, to look at old things under a new aspect, and to bring fresh eyes to the study of the antiquities of the locality, so that the various subjects may be intimately considered, and the

results handed down for the information of future inquirers. I would here also remark that in paying our visit to this and other counties, we do not profess to appear before you as teachers, but we come to solicit information from all residents, to learn from them the views which they entertain on the various subjects, and after the Congress, by patient attention, to revise our papers, and to put them forth with appropriate illustrations for the use of those who have not had the opportunity of accompanying us in our researches.

The pressure of communications to the association has already been such as to compel us, in addition to the ordinary quarterly journal, to the publication of a volume in a larger form, and with more finished and extended illustration. The first volume of the *Collectanea Archaeologica* is now completed, and it is a matter of great gratification, as a proof of the zeal of the members, and the activity of the Council, in the speedy publication of the materials with which they have been favoured.

The variety of subjects which have received attention from us is too great to admit of even a bare examination at this time; the proof of their value is to be inferred from the repeated manner in which the transactions of the association are referred to in every new antiquarian publication. This constitutes irrefragable evidence of the necessity of the formation of archaeological societies, and in the communication of knowledge, modern antiquaries now show themselves to be actuated by a different spirit from those of preceding times; their modes of inquiry into the monuments and remains of antiquity being marked by a precision of the utmost value.

It was well observed by our most learned and accomplished treasurer, (whose absence from illness we deeply deplore,) on occasion of one of our earlier congresses, that the researches of the antiquaries of the present day are no longer directed to the accumulation of antiques, or to the mere development of the characters of an ancient inscription; but that they have reference to their relation to history, and the illustrations which they afford of the habits and customs of former times. The pursuit of the true antiquary demands a knowledge and exercise of various attainments; to render his labours effective he must possess no little acquaintance with heraldry, with genealogy, with various languages, in which inscriptions are to be found, either on monuments or in manuscripts; also with numismatics, with history in general, and particular manners and customs, and a variety of other attainments too numerous to be expected to be efficiently combined in any one individual. Hence arises the necessity of such associations as the present, where persons of different attainments, and knowledge in different departments of science and art, combine together to elucidate the events and memorials of past ages.

The value of antiquities in the illustration of history cannot be too highly estimated. They offer indisputably true evidence of the ancient condition of the countries to which they belong, and serve to manifest either their former splendour or poverty. They present to us facts not to be misunderstood, not to be misinterpreted, facts which can be read in themselves without doubt or suspicion, for they carry not with them impressions created or inflamed by passion or prepossession. They, therefore, constitute the surest and safest guides for the historian. Impressed by the truth of these observations, we cannot be surprised that in all countries there are to be found individuals who have assiduously laboured to collect together, and in many instances also to arrange and classify, these monuments, which designate the date of civilization to which they appertain, to rescue them from the hands of the ignorant despoiler, and to protect them, as far as possible, from the too true destroyer *Time*. Under any and all circumstances, I feel that I may impress upon your minds the utility of every species or every degree of archæological inquiry; for even where the evidence is insufficient for the establishment of *proof*, it may afford a well-grounded *presumption* of it, and as history must be looked upon as the great instructive school in the philosophical regulation of human conduct, as well as a most impressive lesson of moral precept for ages to come; no better aid can be appealed to for the confirmation and demonstration of facts, than the energetic pursuit of Archæology.

But I must not trespass too long upon your patience, as we have much work on hand, and objects which you are doubtless anxious to inspect. I shall, therefore, confine myself to state, that in the week upon which we now enter, a variety of subjects are proposed for our consideration. The programme will give you precise information on this head, and it remains only for me to acknowledge, with great thankfulness, the kind attention which we have experienced from all persons connected with this our visit to Leicestershire.

We enter upon our labours under the auspices of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, the lord lieutenant of the county, whose highly respected father was for several years an associate of our body, who met us at his interesting and classic mansion of Haddon Hall, during our visit to Derbyshire, where he kindly exhibited to us some of his title deeds to that estate, and placed them in the hands of our officers, in order that their contents might be contributed to the pages of our journal.¹

Also the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, the bishop of the diocese, well known for the aid which he is always ready to give in furtherance of objects of utility and worth.

To the mayor and corporation of Leicester, who have liberally and

¹ See vol. vii, pp. 296-8.

handsomely met the views of the local committee, in respect to the arrangements for the Congress, we are especially indebted, and for the readiness with which they have made available to us the archives of their ancient borough, and for their great kindness in giving to us the use of this most ancient and curious hall in which we are assembled, and to the peculiar character of which, I entertain no doubt, Mr. Gordon Hills, in his description, will fully do justice. We have also various castles, or rather remains of castles to visit, and numerous churches to examine. Mr. Roberts, and our other architectural labourers, I am well assured, will not be found wanting in their appreciation of the merits to be discovered, nor will they hesitate to condemn any restorations or alterations which may have been made with deficient judgment and taste. These subjects are all open to discussion, either on the ground with the objects before us, or in this hall at the evening sittings.

I am informed that the greatest facility has always been kindly afforded to antiquarian inquiry in connection with the borough records by the worthy Mr. Stone, the town clerk; and that the Town Council, some years ago, made a grant for binding and repairing the Hall papers, of which between twenty and thirty volumes may be now seen in the Museum, which contain many most interesting letters of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of subsequent sovereigns, with the autographs attached of eminent statesmen and public characters. The Town Council also treats with a friendly spirit all matters coming within its province in which the conservation of antiquities is concerned.

Also I learn that the Museum Committee of the Town Council deserves praise for its attention to the collecting of local antiquities, and that the Museum is especially rich in Roman and mediæval remains, and in specimens of ancient manuscripts.

Our thanks are especially due to the President and Council of the Literary and Philosophical Society of this town for the liberality with which they have invited us to their place of meeting, and to the Directors of the Museum, which is kindly thrown open to the inspection of the visitors on this occasion.

I am also informed that your Literary and Philosophical Society, at the zealous and long-continued suggestions of Mr. Hollings (once an Associate of the British Archæological Association), has also rendered great and continuous assistance in storing the Museum with antiquities. To this society too great praise cannot be paid for its generous efforts to enrich and extend the collection of local antiquities.

I also learn that, in consequence of the discovery of the ancient MSS. in the Muniment Room, great light has been thrown upon local history; and Mr. William Kelly (following up the inquiries opened by our indefatigable local secretary, Mr. Thompson) has produced valu-

able and interesting contributions to local history, in relation to ancient town customs and royal visits, in which full details are given, which have been frequently quoted from by antiquaries in other parts of England.

But these marks of kindness towards us have not been confined to the town of Leicester, for the nobility and gentry around have most liberally offered to receive us at their several places of residence, and have placed every facility within their reach to render our meeting satisfactory. I cannot omit here specially to refer to the kindness with which Sir Henry Halford, Bart., the descendant of one who filled such a high professional position in London with the most distinguished *éclat*, will submit to us at Wistow Hall some relics connected with Charles I., and especially interesting from the association which they hold with English history.

It is an additional and personal gratification to me that, on this occasion, I am favoured with the presence, and am acting in cooperation with, the Rev. R. Burnaby, the Chairman of your Local Committee, because the name of Burnaby is most dear to me. About forty-five years ago, I had the honour of being admitted a member of the illustrious College of Advocates of Doctors' Commons, and became acquainted with the learned civilian of that name, the late vicar-general of the province of Canterbury. He was my senior, and he noticed me with kindness, and eventually honoured me with repeated acts of friendship. I was attached to him as much for his benevolence of disposition and social virtues, as for his profound erudition and professional learning.

Not only, however, from this immediate spot which we visit have we received the kindest of attentions;—the Leicestershire Archæological and Architectural Society have caused their meeting for this year to be held upon one of the days of our Congress, and have invited us to meet them on Bosworth Field; and to the proposed address from the Rev. Canon Trollope, to be delivered on the ancient site of the battle, we all look forward with anxiety for special information and instruction.

An excursion has also been proposed to us to a neighbouring town, and in another county, Northampton—one of great historical interest, and full of architectural antiquities. We owe to the zeal and influence of our esteemed and learned associate, the Rev. Charles H. Hartshorne, the arrangement of this day. We visit Northampton, also, under the auspices of its Mayor and Corporation, who have received the overture in the kindest manner.

I will detain you no longer. We will now proceed to view some of the objects presented to us in the town, prior to holding the *table d'hôte*, after which we shall again assemble in this hall, to hear Mr. Hills' description of the building, and, if time permit, to enter upon other objects deserving of attention.

The following letter, addressed to the President, was then read :

“ Onslow Crescent, Brompton, August 1, 1862.

“ My very dear Friend,—Having been an active member of the British Archæological Association from its commencement, and attended every Congress that has been held, I need not express to you my distress at being unable to be present with you at Leicester. My health, as you well know, has of late been very unsatisfactory, and is now such as to move my medical friends and advisers to forbid my undertaking a railway journey, or risking the possibility of my recovery by the excitement and fatigue of a Congress. If anything could add to the disappointment I feel in being thus necessitated to be absent, it is that I am unable to redeem my promise of aid to you on the occasion. I am, however, satisfied that all our officers and council will most cordially cooperate with you in carrying out the object of our meeting; and begging you to assure them and our members and visitors of the deep regret I sustain in being unable to partake in their researches,

“ Believe me to be, with most affectionate regard,

“ Yours most faithfully,

“ T. J. PETTIGREW, V.P. and Treas.”

A resolution was then passed to acknowledge the receipt of the Treasurer's letter, and to express the deep regret of the members and visitors at his absence, accompanied with their most sincere wishes for the speedy recovery of his health.

Mr. GORDON HILLS (preparatory to the delivery of his paper on the Guildhall) pointed out some of its principal features of interest. It forms a quadrangle, of which the hall, itself sixty-two feet long by nineteen feet wide, is on the north side, next the street. The library is in the east wing, facing St. Martin's churchyard; the mayor's parlour and the grand jury room in the west wing; and the inferior offices on the south side of the quadrangle, the last being modern, and the rest of different degrees of antiquity. The whole ancient structure framed in oak.

After these remarks the party proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. James Thompson, Hon. Local Secretary, to visit Jewry Wall, the Roman pavement in the cellar of Mr. Mason Willey, St. Mary's Church (where Mr. Thomas Nevinson pointed out the parts of chief interest), the castle, the dungeon, the mount, Trinity Hospital, and the magazine. Having viewed these several objects, the members and visitors adjourned for the *table d'hôte*, held at the Bell, the President presiding. In the evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall, and Mr. Gordon Hills delivered the following discourse :

"ON THE GUILDHALL.

"This building, called also the Town Hall, has been used for nearly three hundred years for the administration of the municipal affairs of the town. This, however, was not the original purpose of the Guildhall. The Corpus Christi Guild owned a hall, which stood on this spot, and held in it their own meetings, independently of and (as it is stated by Nichols, in *Hist. Leicest.*) exercising sometimes superior authority to the mayor and burgesses. The original Mayors' Hall stood in what is now named Blue Boar Lane and Holy Bones. Although no trace of the building is to be found now, yet its beginning, its existence, and its end there can be shown with remarkable precision. Mr. Thompson has favoured me with some MS. notes of his own researches. He has seen the deed which records the purchase of the site by the mayor and corporation in the thirteenth century. It will be sufficient to produce two deeds from the chests of the record room by which its existence and situation are demonstrated. One dated 26th April, 10th Henry VI, is an indenture made between John Leigh, mayor, and the commonalty of Leicester of the one part, and Nicholas Algarkirk, of Leicester, of the other part; it leases to the said Nicholas a cottage, with garden annexed, 'in parochia Sancti Nicholai in quodam loco vocato le *Holybones* inter *communem aulam* ex parte boreali et cotagiam predicti Maioris et communitalis dictæ villæ ex parte australe, et extendit in longitudine a via regia usque terram abbatis Leycestrensis.' The second deed, dated 20th September, 2nd Edward IV, is an indenture between the mayor and commonalty of the one part, and Richard Reynolds, town clerk, of the other part; it demises to the latter a certain storehouse and garden in the parish of St. Nicholas 'inter *aulam vocatam le Townhalle* ex parte boreali,' and a certain garden of Robert Greene, held by Richard Cardemaker, on the south, and the highway called '*le Holybones*' on the west.

"It is to be presumed that in course of time the Hall became dilapidated, and in the early part of the sixteenth century it was gradually disused. It remained in the hands of the mayor and burgesses for some period after its disuse, till, according to Mr. Thompson's MS. notes, in 1653 it was sold for £30 to John Kestian, maltster. At the time of the sale it is described as the old 'Town Hall,' or 'Old Shop,' containing three bays of buildings, in length twenty yards and one foot, in breadth at the east end nine yards, on the west seven, situate in a street called 'Blew Bore Lane,' bounded on the west by the place called '*Holybones*.' Having thus disposed of the original Town Hall, we have next to consider how the present Town Hall or Guildhall came to be on the site it occupies at the west end of St. Martin's churchyard.

"An important brotherhood of merchants was founded in Leicester

in 1350 called the Guild of Corpus Christi. It was an association for the regulation of commercial affairs, similar in character to others mentioned in the history of every town or city in the kingdom enjoying a commercial reputation in that age. Other guilds were founded in Leicester. The guilds of St. John, St. George, and St. Margaret, and the Guild Mercatorium are constantly mentioned in the Hall books. In the great work of Nichols,¹ the historian of Leicester, the site of the Guildhall of St. George is erroneously stated to have been where the present Town Hall stands; but that he wrote this under a mistake will be evident from what follows:—I produce the Hall book in which proceedings of the mayor and corporation are recorded, the first entry being in the third year of Edward IV. The volume carries the proceedings down to Edward VI. An entry of the tenth year of Henry VII shows that, Thomas Hurste being mayor, there was ‘a comon Hall holden in Leycester at Corpus Xti Halle on Friday next after the xvii day’ of the year of the king above given; and again, ‘at a common Hall holden at Corpus Xti Hall the 11th day of August in 21st year of the rayne of our sovreign Lord Kyng Henry the VIII, it is a stabbyshed and agreed by Roger Gyllot, mayor, and other of his bredren among the xxiv burgesses and the xlvi in the name of the holle body of the towne, to gyve unto John Beaumont, gentleman, vis. vii*ii*d. fee to move in such causes as the towne shall nede and require.” Other instances occur, showing it to have become a matter of ordinary practice for the mayor and corporation to use Corpus Christi Hall. That the hall of Corpus Christi was purchased by the corporation for their town hall appears by a deed of the seventh year of the reign of Elizabeth, which I am also able to produce. The proctor or trustee of the town in the matter of the purchase was Mr. Brayham, the recorder. The deed is endorsed in a handwriting later than the body of the document, apparently of James’s reign, thus:—‘The dedis and raylaise of the Town Hall, bought by Mr. Brayham, recorder, in the tyme of Mr. Reynolds, mayor, anno 1563.’ The endorsement is important, because the clause descriptive of the building in the deed would not, without other identification, be supposed to refer to the hall, which its architecture shows was then on the site. By the deed, Cicely Pickerell of Norwich, widow, formerly wife of John Pickerell, gentleman, sells to Robert Braham of Barrow on Soar a ‘cotagiam,’ or tenement, with appurtenances, situate near the cemetery of St. Martin’s church, ‘modo vel nuper,’ in the tenure and occupation of the mayor and burgesses, and formerly of the guild of Corpus Christi.³ This is

¹ Nichols’s *Leicestershire*, vol. i, part ii, f. 92.

² Appointment of a standing counsel or attorney.

³ A belief has been expressed that the Corpus Christi Guild was held at the east end of St. Martin’s church, where a publichouse now stands. This deed seems conclusive of the contrary.

pretty clear proof that it was not formerly the Guildhall of St. George, as Nichols would say.

"The fact being thus established that the mayor and burgesses first obtained the use, and afterwards the possession, of the Corpus Christi Hall, it is easy to see that such a course was natural, from the relations which the townsmen and brotherhood mutually bore. Corpus Christi Guild, according to Nichols, contributed largely to the public charges, as in the purchase of charters; and the masters of the guild had great interest in the government of the town, having power with the mayor to levy penalties on the burgesses for their misdemeanours; and upon the mayor's neglect they were empowered to levy them upon him. It is evident that the chief persons of the guild would be the most influential men of the town and its corporation, and that the two bodies must have been very intimately associated. To this community of interests may probably be traced the neglect and final abandonment of the old Town Hall in Blue Boar Lane. The masters and brethren of the guild, being nearly identical with the mayor and burgesses of the town, found it convenient to transact municipal as well as commercial business in the same hall.

"The Guild of Corpus Christi dates from 1350. No part of the buildings belonging to the present Guildhall possesses any architectural features entitling it to a higher antiquity than the reign of Henry VII; so that of the nature of the buildings which accommodated the commercial body for more than two hundred years no account can be given; but the first known meeting of the municipal body in the Hall of Corpus Christi Guild, above referred to, occurs at a date which makes it just possible that the hall there spoken of may be the one in which we are now assembled. The hall is spanned by four timber arches, which brace and support the roof. The features which may be referred to the period of Henry VII are the two western of these arches, judging from their mouldings and the windows in the upper part of the west wing, *i.e.*, the grand jury room. In these, the ogee moulding characteristic of 'perpendicular' work is prominent. Very little of the main framings in this west wing is now in view, but some of the ceiling beams are moulded in such a manner as to agree with that date. There is reason, therefore, to attribute the whole framing of that wing to the reign of Henry VII. The two eastern spans or arches of the hall differ in form from the two to which attention has been already directed. They are different in construction, and are of ruder workmanship; and the moulding, which is not alike on the two, is in both cases simpler than in the first instances. I do not, however, see any reason to suppose that they are older. The ruder nature and evident divisions of the work show no more than an intention to divide the hall into two parts, one of inferior character to the other. The case is not so

clear with regard to the east wing. It has been much altered by later works, and cased on the surface. Where the framing is not completely out of sight, it is evidently much older than the casing; and in one of the tiebeams of the roof, as may be seen in the library, the timber had so much decayed, when the casing was applied, that inside of it a substantial addition to its strength was thought necessary, two strong timbers being fastened on to the sides of the old beam. The date of these casings is very clearly of the seventeenth century; and so it may certainly be believed that the internal work is much earlier, how much earlier may be judged from the resemblance which the external form of the wing bears to that of the west wing: and this reasoning, I think, with much certainty, leads to the belief that the two wings, as regards their main framings, are coeval, and also coeval with the hall. The arrangement of the hall and its adjuncts has therefore undergone but little change. I should, however, add that the 'ovolo' moulding used for the library windows, on the stair to the grand jury room, and in parts of the hall, shows them to be of the Elizabethan age. Over the seat of the president, at the west end of the hall, in a little niche, occurs the date 1586, between the initials E. R. (Eliz. Regina). It is certain, therefore, that alterations were made in the building at that time. The niche has been subject to subsequent alteration and mutilation, and has been taken down and refixed. It exhibits the Italian elements of ornament which were then overflowing the Tudor perpendicular work, with some little leaflets in the spandrels quite after the purely English style. A piece of carving, also of the time of Henry VII, I may here mention. It is now fixed over the modern chimney-piece in a little room at the end of the library, and is a panel of considerable elaboration, belonging to a wainscoting, or possibly a record chest.

"About the period to which the date (1586) over the niche brings us, according to local tradition, the hall was the scene of the performances of Shakespeare in his earliest plays. The hooks upon which the scenes were suspended are pointed out on one of the beams. In that age of pageant and feasting it cannot be doubted that here, too, many a civic feast did honour to the hospitality of the corporation, and this custom continued to very recent times. The modern residence of the police superintendent occupies the site on which stood, a very few years ago, the kitchen and its culinary offices, forming the south side of the quadrangle.

"After 1586 the next date to be mentioned is 1632. The library, which had first been kept in the tower of St. Martin's Church, and then in the chancel, was this year transferred to the room it now occupies in the east wing of the Guildhall. In a document drawn up in 1644, it is stated that the wing was then erected to receive it, and

a very precise account is given. The document relates that 'the library was erected and builded at the onely cost and charges of the corporation of Leicester, att the motion and by the approbation of the Rev. Father in God John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and by the prosecution of Mr. John Angell, publique lecturer for the said borough of Leicester. The building whereof was begun in the time of the maioralty of Mr. John Norrice, Anno Domini 1632, Thomas Somerfield and Richard Ludlow being chamberlins, and finished in the same time of the maioralty of Mr. Nicholas Gilliot, anno 1633, Thomas Bursnal and Alexander Baker being chamberlins.'

"I have pointed out why it may be believed to be much older as to its framing and windows; and from the evident difference in date of the work it is pretty clear that what is here meant by 'erected and builded' is merely that the building was then converted for the new use. The Italian character of the work, which extends to the wainscoting and casing of the walls and timbers, and the removal of the uppermost floor of the building (for it had three floors as the other wing still has), were the preparations for the reception of the library. The windows of the upper floor were however retained; and thus it is that this room is now furnished with an upper and lower row of windows. On the transfer of this library to its present abode, a very interesting letter was written to the Mayor of Leicester by John William, Bishop of Lincoln. The letter is given in Mr. Thompson's *History of Leicester*, and its interest arises not only from its reference to the formation of the town library, but from its relation to the efforts then making for the improvement of church arrangements, and from the remarkable character of the writer. From a humble origin he rose to be Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Archbishop of York, being the last ecclesiastic who held the Great Seal of England. He shared in the misfortunes of the adherents of Charles I., and died in the period of the direful disasters of the cause. Another work of the same kind, and in the same style as that of the library, followed closely after in the other wing, affecting what is now called the mayor's parlour, on the ground floor, and the grand jury room and its gallery over.

"In 1636, according to Nichols, Richard Inge being mayor, the parlour belonging to the Guildhall, with the chamber gallery, evidence house, and other rooms adjoining thereto, were newly erected at the charge of the common chamber. This statement, again, is not literally true. An extensive work was executed here in the way of wainscoting, a very fine chimney-piece was erected in the parlour with the date 1637 upon it, and its windows renovated, for they are different from any others we have encountered, and evidently more modern. The ornamental glass which fitted the thirteen lights is apparently also of the

period, though of foreign workmanship. It is now very imperfect, but the subjects which can be traced are illustrations of the months of the year—as a man threshing, another digging the ground, and a third who, by his enjoyment of a fire, represents a winter month.

“Until the recent abolition of the kitchen and its offices there is no other change to record in the form or appearance of the buildings. Of ancient ornament but very little remains. I have referred to the carving now affixed to a chimney-piece in the apartment at the end of the library. The coats of arms on the hall ceiling are recent restorations of old paintings. They are the arms of the town of Leicester, and of its patron the Earl of Huntingdon, who flourished in the days of Elizabeth.

“In the library are three or four volumes of especial interest. A MS. Greek Testament, and a very early printed Greek Testament; also a printed Missal of 1519, after the use of Salisbury. The first Sarum Missal was printed in 1492, and the last in 1557.”

Mr. James Thompson said that behind a house in Highcross Street (now used as a public institution) there is a very old building with a long range of lights much resembling the range in the mayor's parlour. He believed that before the plain glass was put in some ornamental glass was there, which is now in the possession of the Rev. R. Stephens, at the Vicarage, Belgrave, near Leicester.

Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A., then made some observations on an inscribed tile of the 8th Legion, which had been found in Bath Lane, Leicester, in 1854. The tile, he stated, bore a legionary mark, which was of great interest as throwing some light on a point in the history of the Roman occupation of this island. He detailed the coming of the different legions which were stationed in this country, as ascertained from historical records, noticing that it was the Roman custom to establish certain legions in certain provinces, and in permanent quarters, and mentioning Isca, Deva, and Eboracum, as stations of legions which occupied Britain. Among these, he did not find any mention of the 8th legion, and, therefore, considered it must be matter of surprise to find an inscription recording the presence of that legion at Ratae. Yet the tile to which he now referred proved this. The inscription on it was L.VIII, though the reverse way. It was not customary to allow the soldiers to be idle, and when not engaged in war they were employed in making roads or buildings, and the most important inscriptions found were those recording work performed by the soldiers. In the walls in the north the work of each legion might be traced by marks on the materials. The tile in question was a roof tile, and showed that the soldiers were erecting buildings for their own shelter, probably in the third century. The 8th legion was stationed in Germany, and there was no record of its being brought to Britain, but

it was probably brought by Constantius, in 292, when he gathered a great force to suppress a rebellion here. In this tile then, perhaps, they had the sole record of an interesting point in the history of this country, and it ought to make people careful of destroying the least object of antiquity on the supposition of its being of small importance.

Mr. Geo. Vere Irving, V.P., then proceeded to deliver his address upon the earthworks of Leicestershire. He remarked upon the classification of earthworks, stating that no subject had advanced more lately than this classification of the early fortifications. They had been able to classify the British camps before the Romans, into three separate and distinct divisions. First, they had in the southern counties a camp, including cattle, and consequently of large extent, defended by the natural features of the country, woods and marshes, strengthened by a rampart of trees. They then found in the British warfare, among the Iceni, a very faint rampart, surmounted by a quickset hedge. They had, connected with the same period, plenty of evidence of their British ancestors being able to create earthworks, in the shape of their large tumuli. The third class of British fortifications consisted of very formidable stone works. When the Romans first came to this country as an invading army, of course moving in large bodies of men, according to their custom, they fortified their positions, night by night and day by day. If they remained long at one place, they made the fortifications more formidable, depending upon the exigencies of the campaign. He had been able to trace the march of the western column into Scotland by those camps.¹ When the Roman army became, not an invading army, but one of occupation, they made roads, and established along those roads a certain class of small fortifications, much smaller than the legionary camp. The legionary camp was rectangular, wherever it was possible; and always showed high military talent in selection of position, being at the top of hills, occupying the plateau, so that there was no possibility of the enemy ascending the sides without detection. When the country became more settled, the towns had civil and military populations, generally defended by considerable earthworks. Then they had towns which were purely commercial, purely civil, and these, during the first part of the Roman occupation, were not defended at all. Then came the closing period of the Romans, called the Romano-British period, which, he was afraid, their older antiquaries had overlooked. In this period, on the eastern coast particularly, the Romans were attacked by pirates of the North Sea. It was also well known that the Picts and Scots broke over the northern walls, which caused the open towns to be fortified; and it was very curious that a different mode of fortification was now adopted

¹ For information on this subject, see Mr. Irving's papers in the *Journal*, vol. x, p. 1-32.

—stone and lime being used instead of earthworks. Uriconium was to be referred to this period. These Romano-British camps came to be of very large size, and there was evidence to prove that cattle were kept in them. The only other marked introduction of a different class of fortification must be dated about the time of the great Saxon and Danish struggle. This fortification consisted of central mounds with numerous barbicans and other earthworks thrown round them. That he had occasion to mention to them at the castle, that day, was one of the types of it. They were often founded upon the sepulchral tumuli of a former date, and turned into fortifications. When that style of fortification became popular, where they could not get existing tumuli, they created an artificial one, and not only that, to save labour, in many cases, at Old Sarum, for instance, they created a hollow crater tumulus, so as to save an amount of earth. They were invariably named "Dane Johns." Many of them were built by Alfred and his daughter. Of course they became very naturally the sites of the Norman castles; and under their magnificent structures the old Saxon works had been, in many cases, lost sight of. They had, certainly, still more modern earthworks occasionally to be met with, constructed at the time of the civil wars. In those cases they usually had but little difficulty in ascertaining their nature, because tradition generally handed it down to us.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

This day was devoted to an excursion to Groby Castle, Bradgate Ruins, Ulverscroft Priory, Beacon Hills, Woodhouse Chapel, Latimer's House, and Thurcaston Church. The association quitted Leicester at 10 a.m., and drove up Humberstone Gate, *en route* for Groby, but by a mistake of the drivers proceeded along Ansty Lane, and thus reached the gate leading into Bradgate Park, where Mr. Roberts made some remarks on the turrets which stand at the western extremity of the edifice. The Earl of Stamford had obligingly placed attendants to conduct the party through the ruins, and to afford facilities for the examination of the few remains belonging to the house.

Mr. James Thompson addressed the assembly while they halted at the western end of the plaisance, and gave a few particulars of the genealogy of the Grey family, commencing with Sir John Grey, who married lady Elizabeth Widville, and was the father of Sir Thomas Grey, created Earl of Huntingdon by Edward IV, and afterwards Earl of Dorset by Henry VII. This nobleman was the founder of Bradgate House, which was completed by his son and successor, the second marquis, whose son Henry, the third marquis, was the father of Lady Jane Grey and her two sisters. Mr. Thompson described the house as

a fabric composed of a centre and two wings, the windows of the eastern wing looking out upon the large square garden or plaisance—the scene, he thought, where the happiest hours of Lady Jane Grey were passed, before her ambition, or rather the ambition of others, induced her to claim the crown.

Mr. Planché said that Leland, the antiquary, mentioned the existence of a tilting-ground here; but he entirely agreed with Mr. Thompson that the area before them was not a tilting-ground.

The chapel was then visited, and the effigies of Lord Grey and his lady examined; the bowling ground was looked at; the trees said to have been planted by Lord Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane were pointed out; and then the party left the enclosure. They walked along the valley to Newtown Linford, the scenery being much admired.

The drive was then continued to Ulverscroft Priory, where Mr. Gordon Hills delivered an interesting discourse, which will appear with illustration in a future publication. He exhibited a plan of the building which he had prepared from an examination of the remains. The occupier, Mr. Johnson, very obligingly allowed the inspection of his house, which was formerly applied to monastic purposes, together with some outbuildings of the priory. The president having acknowledged Mr. Johnson's attention and courtesy, the party proceeded to Beacon Hill, where Mr. Heygate, M.P., and Mr. Humphrey, steward to W. P. Herrick, Esq., of Beaumanor, joined them, and pointed out many interesting views from the lofty hill. Mr. Vere Irving made some observations on the hill, but was unable to find traces of any fortifications. The association was kindly invited to visit Beaumanor, but the arrangements of the programme would not admit of the acceptance of Mr. Herrick's kind invitation. Woodhouse Chapel was the next object of attention, and the stained glass windows, with armorial bearings, were minutely examined by Mr. Planché and others.

At Thurcaston the party slackened their pace to view the house where it is reported Latimer was born, after which they directed their course to view the walls and ruins of Leicester Abbey, and thus returned to attend the soirée at the museum. Here the president, associates, and visitors, were most elegantly entertained, being received by the president of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Rev. C. C. Coe, who took the chair on the occasion, and prefaced the proceedings by the following address:—

“I have the pleasure, in the name of the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, to welcome the members of the Congress of the British Archaeological Association as guests, by whose presence we are highly honoured. We welcome them for the work in which they are engaged, and for the personal zeal with which they exercise themselves therein. We feel that it is a good and great undertaking to recall the

past. The lessons which it teaches ought to be valuable to us all ; and the more vividly its pictures are reproduced, the more it will assuredly teach us, intellectually, morally, and spiritually ; so that it is not too much to say that your work tends to the glory of God, and to the welfare of man. We welcome you still more for yourselves. I am sure that it must be a pleasure to all the inhabitants of the town, to think that it is within their power, at the present time, to see what manner of men the eminent savans of archæology are ; and while this natural feeling is being gratified, it may be that some unreasonable prejudices may be allayed. The popular impression concerning the archæologists is that they are as old and as dry as the subjects on which they treat. Old they may be, but it is through excess of life which enables them, after having given vitality to a dead past, to carry on their own existence beyond the ordinary natural term of life. I believe that archæologists have their full share of vigorous manhood and hearty age, and are possessed as a body with a life-giving enthusiasm. For these reasons, we, the members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, are glad to see them. As a society we trust that our desultory efforts have not been without their result. We can boast, at any rate, of having established, and since its establishment, of having partially supported with no niggard hand, the Town Museum. This will surely be esteemed no mean matter in antiquarian eyes. This general result, and the archæological tastes of individual members, must be our plea for your consideration, and I can have no doubt that the effect of your visit will be to promote the archæological tastes of our members. In conclusion, let me express our regret that we have been limited by our space and means from doing more for your reception, to which I may be permitted to add my sincere sorrow that it has not fallen to the part of a more worthy representative of our body to welcome you to-night. I feel this especially, Mr. President, when I contrast your age and wisdom with my youth and inexperience ; but I trust that you will nevertheless receive from my lips an expression of our great respect for yourself, and our best wishes for the association over which you preside."

To this address Dr. Lee responded, and alluded to the great satisfaction he had experienced by an examination of the museum in which was contained so great a variety of interesting objects of nature and art. Thanking the president and committee of the museum for their great courtesy, the business of the congress was proceeded with, and Mr. Planché read a paper on the Earls of Leicester, which will be printed *in extenso* in the next part of the *Collectanea Archæologica*.

The Rev. C. C. Coe then read a paper on a slab obtained from Carthage, which had been presented to the Leicester Museum by the late Duke of Rutland. Much difference of opinion prevailed in regard

to this ancient monument, and a lively discussion ensued, which we forbear to report, as Mr. Coe intends submitting his manuscript to the press.

Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., then, in the absence of Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., read a paper which had been transmitted to the meeting, entitled

MEMORIALS OF RICHARD III.

"Shakespeare has so blackened the character, and in his word-painting, deformed the person of King Richard III, that we feel a thrill of horror when his name is pronounced, and turn with something akin to loathing from everything connected with him and his. The pen of the Lancastrian dramatist has done far more to kindle this aversion than the bitter pages of the chronicler, but both have helped to swell the tide of popular dislike, and work the ruin of many a relic and memento which would have served as guide and landmark in the history of one of England's most maligned but bravest monarchs. Birth-place and grave have alike perished, his bones cast into the stream, his fame and figure blasted and aspersed by party calumny. Nothing can be done to restore his lost mementos, but something may yet be done to vindicate his acts and deeds, and shew us the 'crookbacked king' in less repulsive guise than he now appears in popular conception.

"Richard Plantagenet was born about the year 1450, of the Lady Cecilia, wife of Richard, Duke of York, in the ancient castle of Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, but his natal abode was swept away by order of our first James, and we have, perhaps, no earlier relic of the prince than his official seal as Admiral of England, the date of which is fixed by Mr. Pettigrew between the years 1471 and 1475. It is engraved in our *Collectanea* (i, pl. 15., fig. 1), and bears on it a large vessel, the mainsail blazoned with the arms of France and England, crossed by a label of three points; similar charges appearing on a flag held by a greyhound at the aft-castle. The verge represents a collar of roses, and within it is a legend setting forth that it is the seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Admiral of England, for the counties of Dorset and Somerset—s' RIC: DVC: GLOVC: ADMIRALLI: ANGL: I: COM: DORS' ET SOMS.

"If tradition is to be believed, King John and Queen Elizabeth must have had as many palaces as there are counties in England, and though the name of Richard III is less frequently connected with old mansions, there are still plenty of antiquated houses which are said to have been his abiding place for more or less lengthy periods. Among others may be mentioned the *Black Boy Inn*, Chelmsford, where were formerly to be seen two carved bosses on the ceiling of its great room, one being painted with a blue boar on a deep red field, surrounded by a collar of

seven stars or mullets; the other with a full-blown rose, once entirely white, but subsequently white and red, indicative of the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Both these bosses were communicated to the *Gent. Mag.* (May 1840, p. 469), by our late associate John Adey Repton, Esq., but the editor of that serial contended that the boar is the insignia of Vere, Earl of Oxford, and that the tradition regarding Richard must therefore be rejected, forgetful of the fact that after the attainder of the earl for high treason his vast possessions in Essex and other counties were given to the Duke of Gloucester, so that the Black Boy Inn may after all have served as a hunting lodge of the Plantagenet. Of Richard's two London residences one has altogether vanished, and the other has lost much of its antique aspect; but Shakespeare has given a world-wide and lasting fame to both. *Baynard's Castle* stood on the northern banks of the Thames, and was destroyed in the great fire of 1666. It was in the court of this fortress that Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, offered the crown to the Duke of Gloucester, and where the dramatist makes the latter say—

‘Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To bear her burden, whe’r I will or no,
I must have patience to endure the load.’

Richard III, iii, 7.

“The other dwelling alluded to is *Crosby Place*, Bishop’s-gate, built by Sir John Crosby, about the year 1467, and in spite of alterations and renovations is still one of the finest examples of early domestic architecture in England. Hither Shakespeare makes Gloucester invite the Lady Anne; and bids the murderers repair after the assassination of Clarence and the young princes in the Tower.

“The accession of Richard to the throne, on Thursday, June 26, 1483, brings other mementos to notice. On the 6th day of July in the same year, he, with his queen Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, and though the *royal diadem* be lost, its form is preserved in the badge of Henry VII, who adopted it on account of its having been found in a bush after the fatal fight of Bosworth. It seems to have been arched with six bars, surmounted with a cross, and the jeweled and engrailed circle decorated with crosses and fleurs-de-lys alternating. Richard’s *great seal* gives us his enthroned effigy with arched crown, supporting a sceptre with tabernacle termination in his right, and orb with long stemmed cross in his left hand, just as he no doubt appeared at his coronation. The other side of this seal displays the equestrian figure of the sovereign harnessed in battle array, with his cap surrounded by a crown and surmounted by a lion.

“There is another seal of this monarch which is well worthy of record, and for the identification of which we are indebted to Mr. Planché. It

is engraved in our *Journal* (vi, 447), and from its size may have been impressed from a *signet ring*. It exhibits the royal arms (France and England quarterly) surmounted by an open crown, and surrounded by a collar of roses, like that upon the admiral's seal before described, and which may be compared with the starry collar around the boar on the Chelmsford boss.

"These royal seals may be followed by a brief mention of the king's money, of which there are now known six denominations, *viz.*, of gold, the angel¹ and its half; of silver, the groat, half-groat, penny, and half-penny. The mint-marks on the gold are the boar's head and rose; and to these on the silver is added the fleur-de-lys: the places of mintage being Durham, London, and York. As to devices the gold bears the figure of St. Michael and a ship; the silver the full-faced bust of the monarch, with bushy hair and open crown, with crosses on the reverse. The king's Irish money, minted at Drogheda and Waterford, is without the bust—crowns and escutcheons occupying the obverses and reverses of his groats and pence.

"The mention of the boar at Chelmsford, and its adoption as a mint-mark on the money, reminds us that this animal was the king's cognisance, and alluded to in the satirical distich which cost Collingborne his life—

‘The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dogge,
Rule all England under the Hogge.’

And hence it is that Shakespeare makes Richmond call the king—‘The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar.’ (v, 2.)

"The descent of Richmond at Milford-haven, on Aug. 6, 1485, compelled the king to make vigorous efforts for the defence of his throne, and advancing towards the invader from Nottingham, arrived at Leicester on the evening of the 16th, and took up his lodgings at an inn subsequently called the *Blue Boar*. This old mansion was removed in 1836, to make way for a range of more profitable but far less picturesque erections, but we know from views and description that it was a spacious half-timber dwelling, with one story projecting over the other; the great room or *royal dormitory* having a sloping roof, strengthened by stout transverse beams, the fire-place being ample enough for the *cuisine* of a London club-house.

"Though the ancient inn has passed away, one of its *bedsteads*, and that on which the king is said to have reposed, is still in being, the property of the Babington family, of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, to whom it was presented in the year 1797. It is a large heavy piece of furniture, its four posts swelling into bulbs, the styles of the dorser carved with demi-savages or termini, dividing panels decorated with arches, etc. Its material is oak inlaid with black, white, and brown

¹ An angel of Richard III is engraved in this *Journal*, i, 268.

woods, presenting altogether a fine example of the stately sleeping couch of the middle of the sixteenth century, and consequently having no real connection with the eventful career of Richard Plantagenet. Nor is this the only apocryphal piece of bed furniture affiliated to the king, for on March 24th, 1852, there was exhibited to the association a small *pillow-case* of fine white linen, the end closed by sixteen buttons, and the corner worked in silk with a little arched crown of the time of Charles II, yet this relic of the house of Stuart was affirmed to have belonged to Richard III, and brought from the field of Bosworth immediately after the battle fought on Monday, Aug. 22nd, 1485.¹

"The above spurious memento brings us to Redmore Plain, and to the spring called *King Richard's Well*, from the tradition that he here quenched his thirst during his last struggle for life and realm. The well was drained and closed up about the year 1806, but in 1812 Dr. Parr collected subscriptions sufficient to raise a monument on the spot, and for it composed a suitable inscription in Latin.

"It is needless to dwell upon the incidents of the battle of Bosworth; it is enough to remember that Richard fell like a brave warrior beneath a host of savage assailants, and that his nude and blood-smeared corpse was thrown across a horse and borne back to Leicester, and, after being exposed to public gaze, buried in the church of the Grey Friars. As late as the year 1612 Wren states, in the *Parentalia*, that he saw in Alderman Robert Meyrick's garden a handsome stone pillar, three feet high, inscribed: *Here lies the body of Richard III, some time King of England*. But long before this the royal remains had been disturbed and flung into the river Soar;² and if we are to credit a passage in Baker's *Chronicle*, 'the stone chest wherein his (the king's) corpse lay is now made a drinking-trough for horses, at a common inn in Leicester.' And in Cruttwell's *Tours through Great Britain*, 1806 (iv, 111), it is said that 'there is a little part of it still preserved at the White Horse Inn, in which one may observe some appearance of the *fitting for retaining the head and shoulders*.' Brief as this description is, it is enough to make us doubt whether this fragment was actually part of the royal coffin, for its fashion points to the twelfth and thirteenth far more than to the fifteenth century.

"If we possess no monumental effigy of King Richard III, his form and features are preserved to us in pictures executed during life, or shortly after his untimely death. In the *Warwick Roll* in the College

¹ At Trinity College, Cambridge, are shewn some *Indian* arrows affirmed to have been employed in the battle of Bosworth; and in the *Gent. Mag.* (Feb. 1784, p. 79) is engraved an elegant *prodd*, or small cross-bow, of the time of Elizabeth, to which the same tale is attached.

² A skeleton has lately been found near Baw Bridge, which some take to be that of Richard III; but Mr. S. J. Mackie considers it to be that of a *young female*. (See *Athenæum* for July 5, 1862, p. 23).

of Arms are full-length figures of Richard and his queen, the former being in complete armour, the *couteres* or elbow-pieces being strongly pointed, and his tabard blazoned with the arms of France and England; on his head is an arched crown, and in his right hand is placed a sceptre with florid apex. Another portrait of the king is in the possession of Lord Stafford at Costessey Hall, Norfolk; and Vertue has engraved one upon panel in the royal collection at Kensington.

"At the exhibition of art treasures at Manchester in 1857, Mr. James Gibson Craig contributed a portrait of Richard III. The Society of Antiquaries have two pictures of this monarch, which were bequeathed by the late Mr. Kerrick. They are both on board, one representing him with long brown hair, black bonnet with pearl ornament, robe of cloth of gold over a close dress of scarlet, and his right hand busied in drawing off, or thrusting on, a ring to the third finger of the left hand. In the second picture he is in a small black cap, robe of the same hue, the sleeves of crimson and black, and an under-dress of cloth of gold, and he holds a short sword or dagger in his hand.

"In these pictures Richard appears rather harsh-featured, with stern look; but the old Countess of Desmond, who had danced with him when Duke of Gloucester, declared that next to his brother, Edward IV, he was the handsomest man in the room. If these several limnings of the king do not come up to the notion suggested by the old countess's statement, they are nevertheless superior to the description given of him by Hall, who, following Sir Thomas More, says—'He was little of stature, evil-featured of limbs, crook-backed, the left shoulder much higher than the right, hard-favoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage and among common persons a crabbed face.' This *ex parte* narrative has influenced scribe and artist through every succeeding age; but time, the great revealer of truth, may yet tear the distorted mask from the visage and character of the king, and exhibit him in brighter and better colours than he has hitherto been depicted."

Mr. J. THOMPSON said he had felt great interest in listening to the paper, which contained some details respecting Richard which were new to him, and must be considered interesting to all present. He remarked upon the bedstead on which King Richard slept at Leicester, now in the possession of W. Perry Herrick, Esq., at Beaumanor, stating that when he inspected it a few months ago, he found the stock of the bedstead—the part on which the mattress rested—to be much more ancient and rude in construction than the four posts, and it struck him that this was the part of the bedstead which could have been carried about in the baggage waggons. He believed that as early as James I., one of the greatest curiosities the people who visited Leicester were invited to look at was the bedstead of Richard III. When they considered that James I. began his reign in 1603, and that

the battle of Bosworth Field was fought in 1485, showing an interval of about one hundred and fifty years, it was just possible that there was some foundation for the tradition that there was a bedstead preserved in the Blue Boar Inn on which Richard III slept. Mr. Thompson also made some observations on the Blue Boar, and the character and deformity of Richard. He concluded by stating that if the charge against Richard III of murdering his nephews were brought before a jury of twelve men, and the historical evidence were to be brought before them, giving him the benefit of the doubt, by the direction of the judge they would acquit the prisoner.

Mr. THOMAS CLOSE, F.S.A., said no one could deny that Richard had possession of those two boys, and that they disappeared at a time when it was decidedly to his interest that they should disappear. Another point, too—the murderers afterwards confessed that they had committed the crime, and it was not likely that they would have admitted it if they had not really done the deed. Richard's nephews were in his charge, and he unjustly sent them to the Tower, where they disappeared. With regard to Richard III being heir to the throne, supposing the children of Edward IV were illegitimate—a miserable pretext—the Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, was before Richard in the succession, and also Clarence's daughter. Therefore, he (Mr. Close) believed that Richard III, although an able administrator, was a selfish tyrant and a murderer.

Thanks having been voted to the authors of the several papers, the meeting broke up to examine the Museum more particularly, and at eleven o'clock stood adjourned to the morrow.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 14, 1863.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were elected :—

T. S. Noble, Esq., Hon. Sec. Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York.
 James Milligan, Jun., Esq., 6, North John Street, Liverpool.
 Arthur Cope, Esq., 58, Eaton Square.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :—

To the Society. Sussex Archæological Collections, Vol. xiv, 1862, 8vo.

„ Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 52, 8vo.

„ The Canadian Journal, Nos. 41 and 42, 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for January 1863, 8vo.

„ Sculptor's Journal, No. 1, 1863, 8vo.

Dr. de Berlanga. *Æris Salpensani exemplum fideliter expressum auctoritate Academiæ editum Rerum Historicarum Regiæ Matritensis sumptibus, G. Loringii, Tabula Ænea servatur Malacæ ubi eruta fuit anno M.D.CCC.LI e revisione et acuratissima emendatione Doct. Rod. de Berlanga, jurisconsulti qui illud recensuit lectionemque suam cum Commentariolo primum vulgavit. Malacæ 1858. Folio.*

„ *Æris Malacitani exemplum tantummodo Marginibus omissis fideliter expressum: auctoritate Academiæ editum Rerum Historicarum Regiæ Matritensis, sumptibus Georgii Loringii cujus in Ædibus Tabula Ænea servatur Malacæ, ubi eruta fuit anno MDCCCLI e revisione et acuratissima emendatione Emm. Rodriguez de Berlanga, vi. Doctoris qui illud recensuit lectionemque suam cum Commentariolo primum vulgavit. Malacæ 1861. Folio.*

The preceding fac-similes were accompanied by the following letter :—

Præsidi humanissimo Societatis Archeologiæ Britannicæ. Emm.
 Rod. de Berlanga v.i. Doctor, Instituti Archeologici Romani et
 Academiæ rerum historicarum regiæ matritensis sodalis S.P.D.

Paucos ante dies, vir clarissime, ultimos mensis Octobris, anni a Christo nato MDCCCLI, duæ inventæ fuerunt hac in civitate tabulæ ænæ, fragmenta Legis exhibentes ad Municipium Flavium Malacitanum nec non Salpensanum expectantia. Utriusque Monumenti nobilissimas inscriptiones primum juris publici feci levi cum commentariolo, posteaque de hac felicissima inventione scripserunt Moummsen, Zumpt, aliique juris consulti germani celeberrimi.

Marchivius de Casa-Loring malacitani explendidissimi, tanti possessoris thesauri sumptibus haud parvis, imaginem lithographicam duarum tabularum nuper prodere curavi exactissimam, cuius tibi mitto exemplares binos illius Marchivius nomine meo atque etiam rogoque ad Corpus, cuius dignissimus præses, ut deferas. Vale.

Malacæ A.D. xvii kal. Aug. ann. MDCCCLXII.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited the silicious cast of the interior of a *Cyphosoma Konigi. Mant.*, found in making an excavation in Westminster, and which in all likelihood was employed as an amulet by some ancient inhabitant of Thorney Island. The same species of fossil echinus has been met with in early sepulchral interments; and Pliny (xxix, 3) evidently describes a *cidaridæ* as the *ovum anguinum* of the Gallic Druids. This subject will be fully discussed on some future occasion. Mr. Ainslie also exhibited the iron heads of two arrows recovered from the Thames. The earliest is of much smaller size, but somewhat resembles in outline the head of the sheaf or war-arrow, engraved in *Journal* xvi, Pl. 21, fig. 10, p. 323, but the barbs are very short. This example may be as early as the Norman era. The second specimen is the pile of a flight or roving arrow of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, which may be compared with that given in Pl. 21, fig. 4.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited four electrotypes of medallion plaques of the close of the sixteenth century, varying from $5\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, representing the following subjects:—Vulcan and his men forging the arms of Achilles, whilst Venus and Cupid watch their operations,—The Rape of Europa.—Two of the medallions appear to be after designs of the Genoese painter Bernardo Castelli, illustrative of scenes in Tasso's "*Gierusalemme*."

Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited, on the part of Mr. Wilson,

The altar painting of the Ogle shrine, Hexham Abbey Church, accompanied by the following observations:—

"In the Perpendicular period, after the great battle of the Red and White Roses at Hexham, the choir of the abbey church was enlarged by the addition of a lady-chapel, gorgeously decorated with carved work and paintings, shrines, sedilia, stalls, and a magnificent panelled rood-screen, every panel of which was a picture representing figures from the Dance of Death, and of various saints. Since the dissolution

the choir underwent a transformation, retaining these features, but gaining additional sittings by the erection of galleries and conversion of the shrines into pews. In the course of the recent pewing of the choir the lady-chapel, the ancient sedilia, the stalls, and the shrines were all cleared away, as well as the galleries that really needed removal. When the baize with which the Ogle shrine was covered was torn off, and the perpendicular panelled screen work exposed, the altar painting was found to be in its original position—forming the east end of the large square pew into which the shrine had been made. An account of the alterations made in the abbey church, with the removal of the shrines and finding of this painting, appeared in *The Builder*¹ about two years ago. This account mentioned that the restoring committee had made a contract with the joiner which apportioned to him all the old materials, and that the painting was accordingly claimed by him. Mr. Frederick R. Wilson, of Alnwick, having occasion to visit Hexham a few weeks ago, inquired the fate of the picture, and found that during the intervening period it had been lying in the joiner's attic. He purchased it, and, believing it to be a work of great interest as affording a link in the chronology of art of rare occurrence, has requested me to draw the attention of the association to it. It corresponds in treatment with the paintings upon the rood-screen. The centre panel of the three represents Christ rising from the tomb. The lower half of the figure is concealed by the decorated side slab. The eyes are closed and the head bowed down, an expression of inconceivable sorrow and compassion pervading the features. Blood streams from the crown of thorns and from the wounds. Above the crown of thorns, which is curiously raised in slight relief, is a nimbus, which, it is evident, once blazed with gold. This ornament is in bold relief, as are two candlesticks placed one on either side of the tomb. Below the tomb and behind the nimbus, and on other interstices, there is a diaper of gold stars. A wavy vesica of clouds confines the whole, which stands out thus cloud-encircled from a deep crimson background, diapered with hexagonal sombre coloured rosettes, each rosette containing the letters I.H.C. painted in the same tint. The compartment on the right hand of the Christ contains a full-length figure of the Virgin holding the infant Jesus on one arm, and a sceptre, announcing her sovereignty as Queen of Heaven, in the other hand. The nimbus of this figure is also in high relief, and is more elaborate in design than that upon the head of Christ. A raised nimbus surrounds the head of the infant, and the sceptre is richly ornamented in relief. The robe of the Virgin is of a crimson colour, and has a small geometrical pattern upon it. It is fastened upon the breast with a row of embossed clasp ornaments. Over the arm on which she holds the child and below her

¹ Vol. xviii, p. 681.

waist falls a piece of amber-toned drapery covered with fleurs-de-lys. This figure is surrounded by a double border of golden rays following the same vesica outline, behind which the background is diapered with starry circles. The third panel is filled with a representation of St. John. He bears in one hand a chalice with a dragon rearing its head out of it; in the other a palm branch. The edge of the chalice, its stem and its base, together with the nimbus of the saint, are all rendered in the same kind of ornament as that of the other subjects, but of different designs. The vesica outline of this painting is formed by a flowing scroll-like pattern. The diaper of the back ground is similar to that of the virgin's panel. It is to be regretted that portions of the curious raised ornaments are lost, that the colours have so darkened, and that the base of the centre panel has been so roughly used; but at the same time it is fortunate that sufficient remains to enable us to realize its gorgeousness when mass was first performed before it for the repose of the soul of the valiant Robertus de Ogle."

Sir Henry Halford, Bart., communicated through the treasurer some particulars relating to Charles I, from the storming of Leicester to the battle of Naseby. (See pp. 25-29 *ante*.)

The following paper by Dr. Silas Palmer, F.S.A., was read, and the antiquities described therein exhibited.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN VILLA AT WELL-HOUSE, NEAR MARLSTONE, BERKS.

This villa was beautifully situated, having been built on the south side of a knoll rising in the midst of a richly wooded valley. Behind it are the high grounds of Cold Ash, with the vast earthworks of Grimsbury Castle, the hill now called Pheasants' Hill, (evidently a beacon), and Round Hill, with its deep well-sheltered pits, which were in all probability used for the protection and concealment of cattle, and on either side there spreads out an extent of diversified woodlands scarcely to be equalled for varied scenery. As the ground slopes gently towards the knoll, it has necessarily been exposed to currents of wind which have swept round it from all quarters, and this may in some measure account for the accumulation of drifted soil which has so deeply and completely covered the upper part of it. The first notice I can find of these Roman remains is in the history of Newbury.¹ It is there stated "that it had frequently been observed by the ploughmen when ploughing this field (the Home), that on crossing an elevated spot in the middle of it they encountered loose and ragged stones which prevented the plough going the usual depth. The proprietor, Mr. Goddard, having caused a part to be excavated discovered some tessellated pavements and the flues used for

¹ Published by Messrs. Hall & Marsh, 1839.

warming the rooms. Two skeletons, one of a person more than six feet in height, and two or three Roman coins in excellent preservation were also found. These excavations were not continued to any extent, but as far as they were pursued the foundations of the buildings were very distinct, and many more antiquities might be brought to light if the whole were excavated."

For eight-and-thirty years no further search has been made, until Mr. Bunbury, the present proprietor of the Marlstone estate, most liberally offered to make any excavations the members of the British Archæological Association might wish during the congress held at Newbury. As the members (from limited time) were unable to avail themselves of this offer, Mr. Bunbury last autumn commenced the work of re-exhumation, and most kindly brought to me the various objects that were first discovered, and afterwards gave me unlimited permission to make what plans and explorations I thought necessary, so as to assist in directing the future researches. From these it will appear that there must originally have been a large mass of buildings, for the walls which have been uncovered (and which were destroyed down to the foundations) enclosed a considerable area. On the north side is a wall one hundred and eight feet in length, three feet thick, built of flints and rubble; at its western end the workmen while digging down four feet came upon the floor of a room twelve feet square, with a perfect pavement of common red tesserae. Beyond these were flat tiles which rested against the side walls. Leading from this there would appear to have been a passage at the end of which there was a descent of steps of four feet (therefore eight feet four inches from the surface), into a circular chamber. Here there were quantities of broken pottery and animal remains. At the bottom lay a flat stone of grit imbedded in mortar and resting on a layer of fine white clay. When first seen it was perfect, but it broke into several pieces on their endeavouring to raise it. Its friability appears to have been produced by the action of fire. It presented two surfaces, an inferior or convex and a superior or plain, which seem in parts to have been deepened like the ordinary mill stones of our day. In the centre there was a circular hole three inches in diameter filled with ashes, and the stone (from the fragment) must have measured fifty-six inches in circumference.¹

I may now mention that here were found the horn cores of the bos longifrons, attesting the existence of this animal far within the historic period. One was six inches and a half in length along the outer curve and seven inches in circumference at the base. There were two smaller ones of four inches, probably females. There were also mature bovine

¹ Several such stones have been found among Roman buildings in the neighbourhood of Illey and Compton. (Vide Hewitt's *Hundred of Compton*.)

metacarpal and metatarsal bones, a tine of the red deer's horn sawn off on the end and pared round as if intended for a knife or other handle; likewise a fragment of the tusk of a wild boar, wolves', dogs', and foxes' bones; abundance of oyster and snail shells, and one mussel shell. Among the teeth forwarded to me were those of the red deer, roebuck, and fox; and one human tooth (molar) quite perfect. This I found on inquiry had been extracted from the skull of one of the skeletons before mentioned, and which had been kept as a relic by the Bunbury bailiff, who had been present at the search made during Mr. Goddard's lifetime.

From the broken ware, the molten glass, and ornaments, and the position of the skeletons, which were found a couple of feet beneath the surface with the faces downwards, I am led to conclude that the villa had been sacked and burnt, and that in defending it the inmates may have perished. Among the debris many nails were picked up, principally in the vicinity of a circular chamber; there are ten different kinds, and bear a resemblance to the nails now in use. There was also found a broken knife, and a large iron ring.

Among the pottery there was a nearly perfect vessel, apparently from the Durobrivium kilns. It is of a blueish-black hue decorated with white scrolls and pellets in relief, similar to one figured in this *Journal*, vol. i, p. 6. A portion of another vessel had a pattern in red, fragments of Samian and Romano-British ware. The bottom of an ampulla (glass), coated inside and out with a peculiar looking substance (oleate of lead?). A fragment of a wine strainer (colum nivarium) as I should suppose from the size, as it must have measured at least five inches in diameter, and when perfect more than two inches in depth. On visiting Well House two pieces of mortaria attracted my notice, one of clay, kneaded with rough stones, and well-worn, and the other of finer ware, smooth externally, and rendered rough internally by portion of quartz imbedded in it. From the peculiar brightness and polish (by attrition) of their surface I took them at the first glance for fish scales, and as they had recently been wetted by a passing shower the illusion was more complete. The different pieces of urns, amphoræ, etc., would give the idea of great dimensions, for the necks of some measured thirty-eight, thirty-five, thirty-three, and others twenty-nine and fifteen inches in circumference. There were lumps of melted glass, and on all sides quantities of ollæ, tesserae, roof and flanged tiles, one of the latter having the marks of an animal's (wolf's) feet, where it appears to have slipped off the flanged border on to the body of the tile, where the most perfect impressions are to be seen.

Among the bronze articles is an armilla, which was found with the Durobrivium urn. It is similar to one discovered at Colchester, and figured in Akerman's *Archæological Index*. Two bronze fibulæ in

a semi-molten state, and several other masses of metal mixed with scorix. Pieces of coal were also noticed. There were only two coins met with, one a third brass of Tetricus the Elder (A.D. 267-273), which may, perhaps, indicate the age of the villa, *obv.* crowned bust to the right, IMP. TETRICVS. PF. AVG : *rev.* standing figure to the left of LAETITIA. AVG. The other, as far as I can judge, a stycas.

It is sufficient to remark that a great deal¹ has been removed in the former excavations, so much, indeed, as to render it useless to attempt any explanation, or hazard any opinion as to the various rooms, courts, etc., which must have formerly existed, still I cannot help thinking that much yet remains hidden under the heap of mould, and which I fear will never see the light, as the whole ground has again been filled in. When Mr. Bunbury began the excavation the winter was approaching, and wet inclement weather prevented the work being steadily carried out. The distance (seven miles), and my professional engagements would not permit my taking that part in the work I desired, and I hoped that the tenant would have been willing to accede to the arrangements proposed, *viz.*, that the floors, etc., be protected from the frost until the weather became more genial, when operations might have been resumed; this has been entirely frustrated by the adverse decision of the tenant.

JANUARY 28.

NATHANIEL GOULD, ESQ., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The chairman announced that he had been invited to inspect some Roman remains discovered in making an excavation on the premises of Messrs. Ruck, wine merchants, at St. Dunstan's Hill. They merely consisted of a portion of wall, about three and a half feet thick, built of various material, principally chalk, some Kentish rag, and here and there a Roman broken tile—the bad Roman build, a filling in of this rubble—the mortar so good as to make an imperishable wall. It is in a double arched basement, one over the other, and then the present house. It is nearly twenty feet below the level of the present street, and about the level of the high water of the Thames. Among the rubble was found a very ill-manufactured Roman bottle of clay, apparently hardly baked, of a common type, crooked in shape, and seems like a discarded one.

Mr. Thos. Wright, F.S.A., announced that he had, upon the invitation of our associate, W. Tite, Esq., M.P., V.P.S.A., visited the works of demolition on the site of the late East India House, where in dig-

¹ The foundations of Adelaide Chapel were built with masses, many weighing a ton, from this source.

ging up the foundations the workmen had come upon the floor and walls of a Roman house, the floor lying at a depth of nearly twenty feet below the level of the modern street. One side-wall ran nearly under the edge of the present street, and parallel with it, and a transverse wall ran from it at right angles in the opposite direction to the street, and this latter wall was traced to a distance of, perhaps, about twenty feet, where it met another wall parallel with the former. The length of the room has not been ascertained, but it was evidently much greater than its breadth. The floor was in perfect preservation, and was formed of tessellæ of about a quarter of an inch square, black, white, and red, but arranged in no very intelligible pattern. The walls, which were two feet thick, remained on one side to a height of between three and four feet, and the stucco and fresco-painting on the inner surface were unbroken. It appeared to have been painted in panels, with a rather rude pattern which is not easily made out. Indeed, it is rather common work, and the remains present no particular interest, except that they show the former existence on this spot of a large and important Roman mansion; other and, probably, more interesting parts of which will, it is hoped, be brought to light in the course of the works. It is further of interest, in regard to this discovery, that the finest tessellated pavement known to have been discovered in London, representing Bacchus reclining on a tiger, was found, in 1803, in Leadenhall Street, immediately in front of the portico of the East India House, so that the wall of the room just discovered was, in all probability that also of the room containing the pavement. The latter is said to have been found at a depth of only nine feet and a half, but this may, perhaps, have been a mistake. It should be stated, however, that the workmen aver that outside the room now found they find earth which has never been disturbed, as though this room had been sunk deep for some purpose or other.

Mr. Jno. Turner made the following communication on sepulchral discoveries:

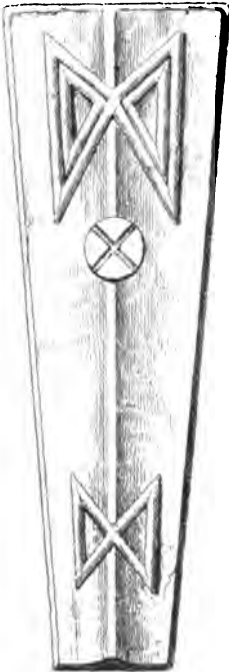
"In the course of restoration of Stapleford Tawney Church, near Romford, Essex, which I have lately been engaged in carrying out, two interesting stone coffins were discovered, one inside the church under the pew flooring, about the centre of the nave; the other outside on the north side of the church, upon the site of the new vestry as approached from the chancel. Both coffins appeared to have been disturbed at some previous time, and had some debris in them, but nothing to lead to the conclusion that they contained the remains of the original occupants of the sepulchres. The coffin found inside the church had a stone cover over it, but from the fact that the measurements do not accord with the coffin, I am disposed to think it belonged to some other, which may still be undiscovered, or has been, perhaps,



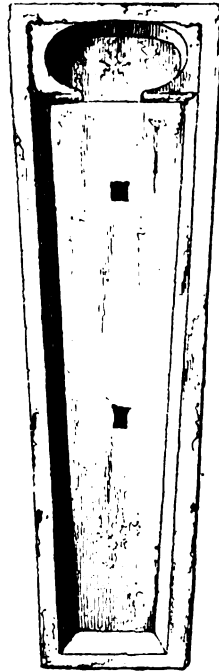
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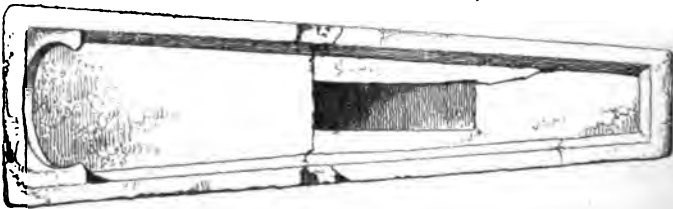
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destroyed. The coffin outside the church (preserved against the north wall) had no cover. In examining and comparing the two coffins, there is seen to be much difference in regard to the cavity made for the reception of the head. In the one found inside the church two square holes are also cut through the bottom, in the one outside one hole only of a parallelogram form is cut. Such holes do not appear to have been noticed in the description of the stone coffins recorded in this *Journal* (Vol. ii, 170, xvii, 331). Both coffins were placed with the feet towards the east. Figure 1, plate 3, exhibits a sketch of the coffin and cover found inside the church now preserved for inspection and placed inside the church under the west window. Figure 2 represents the coped or raised exterior, the ornamentation of which is not common. The circular ornament presenting a cross is probably intended to represent the holy wafer. The sketches have been made by my son, Mr. J. Goldicutt Turner, and may be relied upon for the fidelity with which they have been executed."

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth announced that a stone coffin had been found in making the new cemetery at Locksbrook, just out of Bath. "It is," he says, "very massive, eight feet long, six inches thick, and the covering slab has one stone almost nine inches in thickness. The form is a regular oblong, not like that found in the Sydney Gardens last year, which was formed like a coffin of modern times. The present discovery is on the line of the Via Julia, about a mile and a half out of Bath, on the way to Bitton, the ancient Abone, and near the present turnpike road. It is not improbable that a villa stood near the site of the present road, a little more towards the downs. About a mile and a half from this, along the same, a villa was laid open in constructing the railway, which villa forms the subject of a paper by the Rev. W. L. Nichols, printed A.D. 1838, under the title of 'Horæ Romanæ.'

"The coffin is similar to one found within the precinct of the Roman villa laid open at North Maxall, and described by Mr. Poulett Scrope in the *Wilts Archaeological and Nat. Hist. Mag.*"

Mr. R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A., communicated a paper on Ancient Literary Frauds and Forgeries, and their bearing on records and events in Irish and other Celtic Annals. The instances referred to were :

1. Joannes Annii de Viterbo, a Dominican friar. It is a pretended discovery of long lost works of Berosus and Manetho, and of various fragments of celebrated writers of antiquity. His fabrication of inscriptions, purporting to be ancient, on marble slabs in the latter part of the fifth century.

2. Father Higuera. His ecclesiastical annals of the church of Spain, ascribed by Flavius Lucius Dexter, a friend of St. Jerome of the fourth century.

3. Literary frauds of Curzio Inghiammi, a pretended discovery of ancient Etruscan inscriptions in the seventeenth century.

4. Forged inscriptions on the metallic plates, ascribed to the Druids by Stukeley.

5. Fabrications of inscribed metallic plates, and pretended discovery of them in sepulchres and ruins in various countries.

6. Alleged discovery of the burial place of Adomiran, the servant of king Solomon in Spain, and inscriptions on his tomb. Sepulchral researches for ancient writings of the Jesuits in Murviedro in Valencia.

7. Fabrications of metallic plates, with inscriptions purporting to be of extreme antiquity, in Constantinople.

8. Forged predictions and remarkable literary frauds connected with the discovery of the remains of St. Cathaldus in Naples in the fifteenth century.

9. Fabulous history of the Emperor Aurelian by the bishop of Guevara.

FEBRUARY 11.

GEORGE VEE IRVING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected Associates:—

William Henry Cope, Esq., 26, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park.

J. T. Irvine, Esq., Green Roads, Battersound, Unst, Shetland.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 53, 8vo.

„ Journal of the Royal Dublin Society, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 8vo.

„ Journal of the Archæological Institute, No. 75, 8vo.

„ Journal of the Numismatic Society, No. 8, new series

„ Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, No. 38, 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for February, 8vo.

To T. Richards, Esq., Papworth's Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms, parts 7, 8, 9, 10, 8vo.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth made the following communication, and Geo. Cruickshank, Esq., of Combe Down, kindly transmitted the antiquities met with in the course of the excavations.

ON A ROMAN VILLA AT COMBE DOWN, BATH.

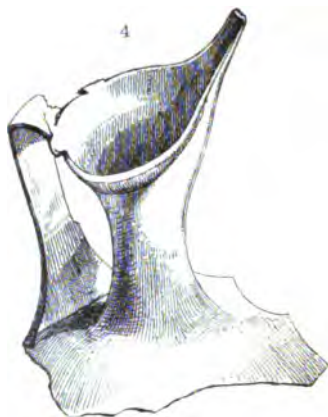
“Some years since in building a villa, and laying out the garden into terraces, some stone coffins were found, one of which had a stone



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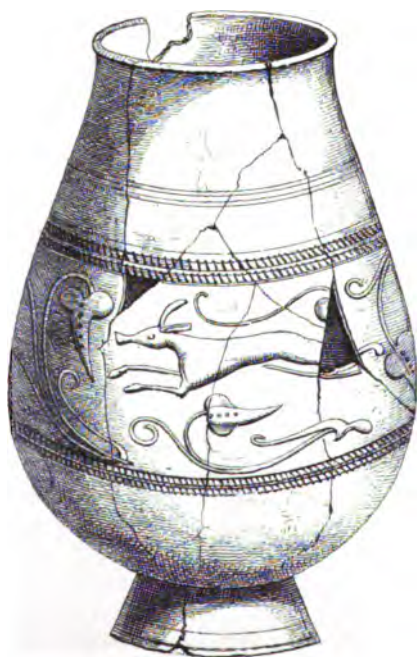
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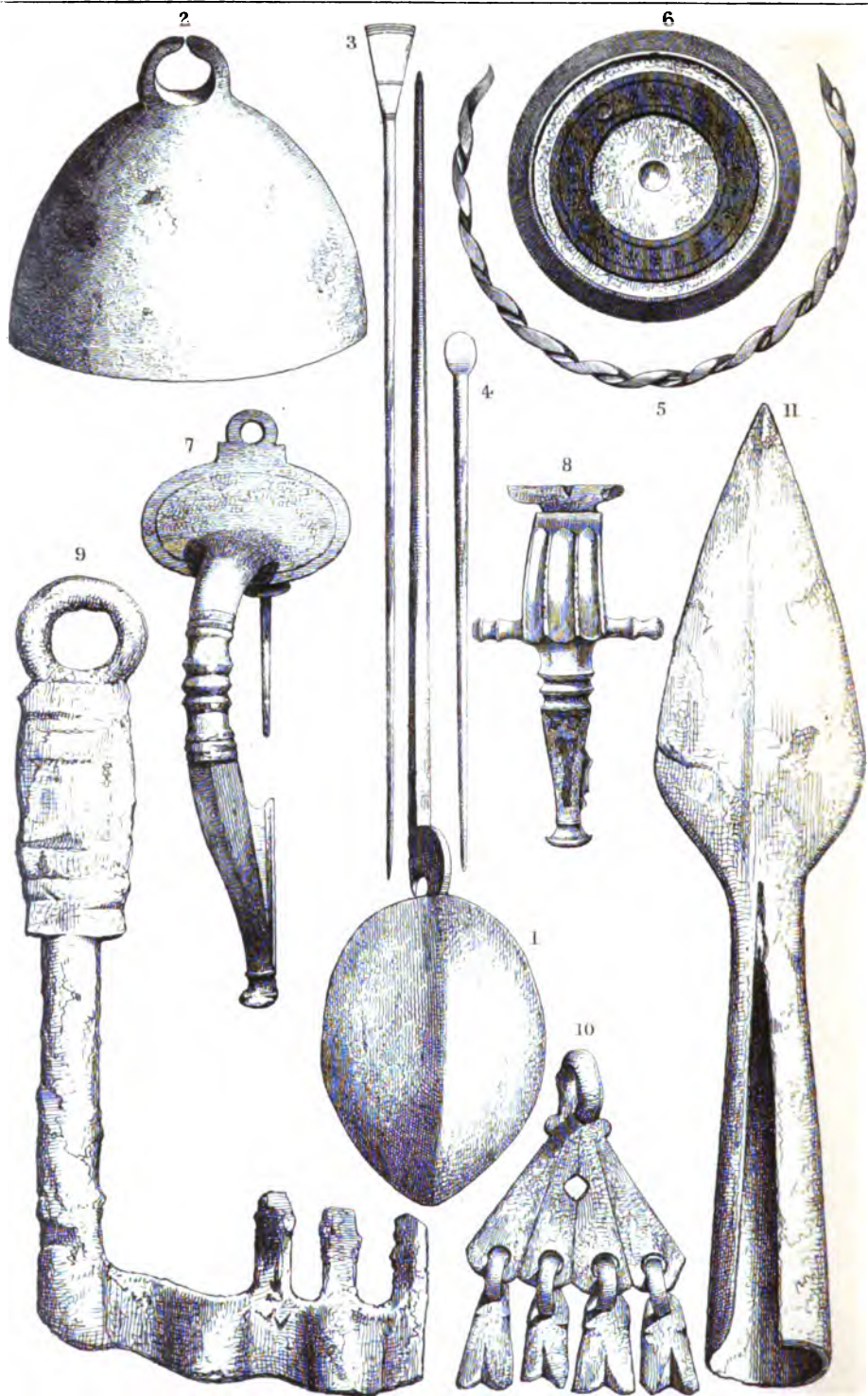


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placed on it, which upon being turned over was found to have an inscription. This is now in the Museum of Antiquities of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, and has been published in the last vol. of our *Journal* (xviii, 303). With these stone coffins were found two earthen jars containing burnt bones, also the head of a horse in a cist, as well as another cist containing only ashes. At that time the site of the villa was but partially explored, and some coins, broken pottery, and portions of fibulæ found. The walls were traced running north and south, and two chambers laid open. These were afterwards destroyed, as the space was required for quarrying stone. At a later period further remains were discovered much to the east, which had formed another portion of the villa, and consisted of two rooms with hypocaust underneath, the rock having been cut away, but portions of it left standing, so as to fulfil the purpose of pillars for the hypocaust, the other pillars being formed in the usual way, viz., tiles placed one on the other, on which the floor had been laid; unfortunately the floor was broken up. Where the hill side had been cut away to the depth of eight or ten feet, and where the rock was found, grooves remained cut into the solid stone, into which woodwork appeared to have been inserted. The form of the villa seems to have been that of the letter L inverted, thus 7, and the garden of the villa was placed behind, in which the stone coffins were found.¹ Just below is a fine spring of water. The situation is truly beautiful, and just above the grounds of Milford Castle, which seems to represent the ancient villa, but at a lower level. Since Mr. Cruickshank, the present owner of the villa, came into possession, he has had to quarry the stone at the bottom of his garden, and in doing this he has come at the ancient wall of the villa, outside of which appears to have been a walled place for refuse. Bricks and flanged tiles, plaster painted in stripes, and numerous relics, have been turned up in the course of the excavations, among other things about two hundred bronze coins of all periods of the lower empire, and a silver coin of Constantine, rev. *Votis Multis* in a wreath. Exergue P.LON. The villa seems like most others to have been burned, as much charred wood is found, and burnt matter, and the roofing tiles lie amongst it."

From the preceding memoranda, and a careful examination of some of the numerous objects transmitted to London, Mr. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., has been enabled to lay before the Association the subjoined report upon the antiquities exhumed on the site of the Roman villa at Combe Down:—

Animal remains.—Horns of oxen of large size. Large oyster shell.

¹ The discovery of sepulchral remains in connexion with Roman dwellings, has already been noticed in the *Journal* (x, 194).

Lithic remains.—Pumice stone, very abundant. Spherical ball, two inches diameter. *Cos* or hone. *Pistillum* or pestle.¹

Fictilia.—Pottery of every kind. Fragments of *amphoræ*. Part of a *colum* or strainer. Two fine drinking cups of *Durobrivian* ware coated with black oxide of iron, embossed with hares, boars, and deer, mingled with tendrils of ivy, a plant sacred to Bacchus. (See pl. 4, figs. 1, 2). One of these *pocula* is four inches and five-eighths in height, the other six inches in height, and may be compared in form and subjects with examples given in this *Journal* (i, 8, iii, 212). They were both found at the bottom of a square building, measuring about seven feet by three. Of *Samian* ware there are pieces both plain and embossed, some bearing the makers' names, CINI.M.F. and SACRINI.M. Another object in terra-cotta is the *verticillus*, or *turbo* of a *fusus*, a sure indication that the art of spinstry was not neglected by the female members of the ancient domus.²

Vitrea.—Portions of several vessels of delicate colourless glass, among them remains of *gutturui*, with loop handles and attenuated lips of most peculiar form. (See figs. 3, 4).

Bronze.—Vessels of this metal are rarely met with in England, but with the *pocula* already mentioned was found the mouth of an *ampulla*, one inch and five-eighths in diameter. Other articles of table furniture are presented in *cochlearia*, the bowls of which are, as usual, set below the line of the handle in the manner of those engraved in this *Journal* (vi, 451). One (pl. 5, fig. 1) has been plated with silver, and has an oval bowl and sharp pointed handle; the first for eating eggs, the second for extracting fish from the shell, as we are told in one of Martial's *Epigrammata* (xiv, 121).

"Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis :
Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer ?"

A *tintinnabulum*, of hemispherical form, appears to be one of those which were suspended to the breast-belt of the horse (fig. 2). The sheep's bell was of taller make, and frequently four-sided, and the bells for household use were of larger size and neater fabric. Of *stili*, employed to write upon the waxen *pugillares*, there are two delicate examples, the blade of one being ovate, the other like the ploughman's *rallum*, and graven with a few transverse lines (figs. 3 and 4). The blade was for the purpose of erasing the legend when a correction was needed, or the whole surface of the *tabulae* was required for fresh writings. The *stilus* was frequently called *graphium*, and was kept in a case denominated *graphiarium*, of which also mention is made by Martial (*Epig.* xiv, 21).

¹ For a notice of ancient pestles, see *Journal*, vii, 83.

² For a notice of ancient spindles, see *Journal*, xv, 306.

"Hæc tibi erunt armata suo graphiaria ferro :
Si puero dones, non leve munus erit."

A pair of *volællæ*, nearly one and three-quarters of an inch in length, resembles examples frequently found on the sites of Roman occupation.¹ Among several *armillæ* there is one composed of two intertwined wires, bringing to mind the funicular torchs of the Celtæ (fig. 5);² and what appears to be a fragment of another formed of bone, less than a quarter of an inch wide, bound round with a strip of bronze. There are also studs or bosses, one (one inch and six-tenths in diameter) exhibiting traces of green enamel in the sunken portion of the field, which has a shank at the back for attachment to the habit or belt (fig. 6). Of *fibulæ* there are no less than ten examples, all more or less harp-shaped, but differing in details. Those presenting most novelty are shewn in figs. 7 and 8. The larger has a loop at top to which was once affixed a chain or cord to secure it to the dress of the wearer, and thus prevent its being lost.³ The smaller specimen still retains much of the silver with which its front was originally plated.

Iron remains.—These, though few in number, are very curious. Among them are two keys, one of which (fig. 9) may be compared with specimens given in this *Journal* (iii, 179, v, 140), which are probably examples of the *clavis laconica*, or latch key, described in the *Journal* (xii, 120). A pendant from horse furniture is also a very singular article. It is a triangular plate with loop at top, and four ornamental drops hanging from the ^{upper} edge (fig. 10). There are four iron rings which when perfect must have measured nearly two inches in width, and three inches in diameter. What purpose they fulfilled is very uncertain, but they may probably have surrounded a shaft, like the mast of a small vessel. (See pl. 4, fig. 5). The last, but not the least, interesting iron relic from this locality, is the head of a Teutonic *here-stral*, or war-dart (pl. 5, fig. 11), five and a quarter inches in length, the socket being open up the side, as in the examples of Anglo-Saxon weapons described in this *Journal* (xiii, 203). All the iron remains are unquestionably of a late date, and seem to indicate that the spot had been occupied by the Teutons after its abandonment by the Romano-British family.

Mr. Thos. Gunston laid before the meeting a large collection of Roman antiquities found in Southwark during recent excavations. In the course of their examination, Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that—"It would occupy too much time were we to enter into anything like a minute inspection of the many objects now brought forward, but amongst them are some of so much interest that they ought not to be passed over in silence. The *ficilia* furnish some good examples of em-

¹ See *Journal*, xvii, 226.

² See *Journal*, xv, 226.

³ For a notice of *fibulæ* with similar loops, see *Journal*, xvi, 271; xviii, 378.

bossed Samian ware, as, for instance, the fragment with a warrior armed with a great clipeus and helmet, surmounted by a high arched crista of noble aspect; and that with the nude dancing figure, a portion, probably, of a Bacchanalian scene, composed of fauns and satyrs. There is, too, the upright rim of a *mortarium*, bearing the maker's stamp . . . MIN.M., the vent being through the mouth of a lion's mask. From the miscellaneous pottery may be selected two vessels of very dark grey ware of rather unusual character. One is a sort of bottle or vase, with full body, contracted neck, and expanded mouth, measuring nearly two and three-quarters of an inch across. It is full four inches high, and has a large X shaped mark on the bottom, incised on the clay before firing. The paste is very compact and burned to extreme hardness. Few examples of this rare kind of ware have been noticed, but one found in Fenchurch Street, in 1833, will form the subject of comment on a future occasion. The second Southwark vessel is shaped like a porringer, nearly two inches and a quarter high, with a rim curving downward in the manner of many mortaria; and on the base (two inches and a half diameter) is incised a cross. I produce the base of a vessel of similar ware having a like cross incised on it, which was exhumed in Great East Cheap, in 1831, and should be glad to learn if pottery so marked had been met with out of London, for all the examples I remember to have seen have been turned up in the neighbourhood of the . . . Some of the *vitrea* is exceedingly curious and beautiful. There is a portion of a tumbler-shaped drinking cup, of colourless glass, has six projecting perpendicular ribs formed of transparent tubes filled with opaque white enamel (oxide of tin). Then there is a portion of the globose body of a small bottle moulded with ribs, and the time-produced iridescence on it, which rivals in brilliancy the hues of precious opal. The circular base of another vessel seems to be of a black colour, but by transmitted light is of a deep rich garnet-red, due to the presence of per-oxide of iron. Around the sides was probably a volute of oxide of tin, which extends on the base, ending, as usual in such cases, in a clot. The mark of attachment of the *ponsil*, *punty*, or working-rod, is distinctly visible on this specimen. The upper part of an *ampulla*, of ordinary bluish-green glass, has a handle of an apple-green hue, the two colours forming a pleasing contrast. Perhaps the most singular object among the *vitrea* is a portion of a rod of green colour, half an inch in diameter, and nearly four inches and a quarter in length. It is graduated in such a manner as to suggest the idea of its employment as a *regula*, but its fractured state forbids a positive opinion being given. There are two other examples of glass which have a very mediæval aspect, but which are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity. They both seem to be portions of implements employed in giving a gloss to textile fabrics, and

known in olden times as *lischas* or *sleeking-glasses*. One is a bulbous stem or handle, which rose from a flattened hemisphere; the other is a base made like the end of a pestle.

"The only articles of bone produced are two netting pins, and a netting needle, objects of considerable rarity. The perfect double-pointed pin is five inches and seven-eighths in length; the needle four inches and three-quarters long, and nearly one inch wide at the points. The body of the latter is slightly convex, and stamped on each side with two groups of eyelet-holes.

"Among metallic objects a bronze statuette of Hercules, two inches and six-tenths high, deserves mention, as so few relics of the Roman Pantheon have yet been met with in London, the principal being the silver Harpocrates, and the bronze figures recovered from the Thames, now preserved in the British Museum. The present figure has unfortunately been burnt with the view of freeing it from rust, and has thus become well-nigh ruined."

Mr. Gunston also exhibited a series of pewter spoons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among them one of the same form as those engraved in this *Journal* (viii, 365), its handle marked with the date 1598, and its bowl stamped with the initials S.T., and the maker's seal—two cross keys between the letters T.A., within a circle. Two spoons from the river Fleet, with broad-topped handles, display many stamps, among them one consisting of $\frac{2}{3}$ date and initials $\frac{1000}{W.L.}$. A smaller spoon from the Thames has its b. stamped with a shield charged with a crown, T.T. and 1677; and a larger one from the Fleet has the word LONDON, together with a fleur-de-lys, and T.B. in a shield, and the letters $\frac{R.A.}{W}$ under crowns on the back of its broad-topped handle.

Mr. Gunston made another exhibition of a number of little unguent pots found during the formation of Victoria Street, Farringdon Street, 1862, and which doubtlessly once belonged to some pharmacopolist of the neighbourhood in the seventeenth century. The tallest is two inches and five-tenths in height, and is somewhat hour-glass shaped, covered inside and out with a yellow glaze. The other pots are cylindrical, globose, and vase formed, of delf-ware covered with white and lead-coloured glaze, some being decorated with dabs of blue and purple. They vary in size, measuring from three-quarters to near one inch and a half in height.

Among other miscellanea from the Fleet river, exhibited by Mr. Gunston, Mr. H. Syer Cuming identified a fragment of an old "*ring dial*," upon which he made the following observations:—

ON POCKET SOLARIA.

Herodotus (ii, 109) tells us that the Greeks derived the knowledge of the dial from the Babylonians; Phavorinus (ap. Diog. Laert. ii, l. 3)

from the form of the numerals on which, we may safely refer it to the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. Mr. Charles Knight, in the notes to his edition of Shakespeare (ii, 230) suggests that it was a dial of this kind which the fool is supposed to have drawn from his "poke," and gives a representation of such an instrument depending from the finger of a man; and states that he is in possession of a like dial, which was picked "out of a deal of old iron," and which he describes as "a brass circle of about two inches diameter. On the outer side are engraved letters indicating the names of the months, with graduated divisions; and on the inner side the hours of the day. The brass circle itself is to be held in one position by a ring; but there is an inner slide in which there is a small orifice. This slide being moved so that the hole stands opposite the division of the month when the day falls of which we desire to know the time, the circle is held up opposite the sun; the inner side is of course then in shade, but the sunbeam shines through the little orifice and forms a point of light upon the hour marked on the inner side."

Mr. Cuming exhibited an old "ring dial" of brass, made by T. RUTH, which agrees in every particular with the one in Mr. Knight's possession, and though not of equal age with Mr. Gunston's fragment, yet fully establishes its original purpose.

In Harris's *Lexicon Technicum* (London, 1716) is a woodcut of an "universal equinoctial dial," which has much the aspect, and is closely allied in character, with the more primitive "ring dial," which is stated to be "made of two rings of brass or silver, that open and fold together, with a bridge or axis, and a slider, and a little ring to hang or hold it up by.

The general employment of clocks and watches has been the means of casting into shade all other kinds of horologia; and sun dials, whether pillar, mural, or pocket, are now rarely met with except in connexion with some time-honoured building, or among the treasured stores of the virtuoso.

The following paper was read:—

ON EARLY CELTIC POETRY.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ., V.P.

In a recent number of our *Journal* (for Sept. 1861, vol. xvii, pp. 53-261) there appeared a notice of a collection of his minor papers, published by our associate, Mr. Thos. Wright, under the title of 'Essays on Archæological Subjects.' Among these is one "On the Origin of Rhymes and the Early Welsh Poems." In this paper Mr. Wright attributes, to what is there described as *early Welsh poems*, a date not earlier than the twelfth century, and, therefore, denies that

they can in any case be considered as authentic records of events which occurred in the sixth and seventh.

In all discussions like the present the first point which it is necessary to determine is the precise question and subject we have to consider. Mr. Wright describes it as "The Early Welsh Poems." To this definition I, with deference, demur. In one sense these poems may certainly be called *Welsh*, and I will not dispute that Mr. Wright can thus correctly use the word; but there can be no doubt that to all modern ears the term *Welsh* connects itself with the principality, and has lost all reference it at one time had to other districts. It is, therefore, dangerous to use it in any other sense than as designating the modern Wales. Now, the poems under discussion have no connection whatever with Wales, except that they have been preserved there, and are composed in a Celtic dialect, which can with difficulty be read by those best conversant with the most ancient form of the language used in the principality.

Mr. Wright also observes in another passage, "The Welsh lay claim to a series of vernacular poets, under such names as Aneurin, Taliessin, and Merlin, who are asserted to have lived in the sixth century." My statement would be of a different character, *viz.*, we find existent in the dialect of the second Celtic immigration, which occupied Wales and many districts further north, a mass of poems of one kind and another. Many of these narrate the actions of individuals who we know from other sources lived in the sixth and seventh centuries. Some of these are anonymous; others bear on their face that they were composed by contemporaneous bards, such as Lywarch, Taliessin, and Aneurin; some again are ascribed to these bards which have no reference to historic events; while others, referred to them, relate events which occurred long after their era; and, lastly, there are some which are neither historical, nor capable of being referred to any bard in particular.

Were it asserted, as I am afraid has been done by some writers, that the whole of these poems date from the sixth and seventh centuries, their very mass would be sufficient to refute the idea. When, moreover, we come to examine them individually we find that the great bulk of them must unquestionably be referred to a later date than this period. In some we find ideas of chivalry, and magical superstitions, and in others geographical details, etc., which show them to have been composed in accordance with opinions which were not known till the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

From these spurious poems a few, however, stand out in strong contrast. They are marked by containing little but a narration of facts, and by a tone and character diametrically opposed to that of the more recent poems, which profess to relate the actions of the same indi-

viduals. It is to this class of these poems alone that Mr. Beale Poste and myself have alluded in our papers inserted in this *Journal*, and I think we can easily show them to be worthy of credit as historic records.

They all relate the history of persons who we know, from such undisputed authorities as Bede, the Saxon Chronicle, the Ulster Annals, etc., lived in the sixth and seventh centuries, and who all belonged to the Celtic tribes of the south of Scotland, or, to speak more correctly, to the Septs which inhabited the district between the two great Roman walls, with the exception of two warriors who were chiefs of the Scots of Argyleshire. It was in the lowlands of Scotland that they were composed, and the bards to whom they are ascribed were admittedly natives of this district. Now we know from such authentic documents as the Inquisition on the churches belonging to the see of Glasgow, held by king David of Scotland, when Prince of Cambria, early in the twelfth century, that this district had been denuded of its Celtic inhabitants before that period, a very great number of whom had emigrated to Wales. They undoubtedly, in my opinion, carried with them their old traditional poems, and this, at least, is certain, that now it is only in collections of MSS. which have been preserved in the principality that they are to be found. For centuries they have been unknown to the inhabitants of the country to which they refer, and it is only within the decade that the work of the Count de la Villemarqué, *Les Bardes Bretons de vi^m Siècle*, has induced myself and a few other Scotchmen to work out the details of these poems, aided by our acquaintance with the other records of Scottish history, and our local knowledge. In doing this we have had a good deal to contend with, as unfortunately our Welsh friends tried the explanation before us, and making a mistake in the identification of one of the leading characters antedated the whole narrative at least half a century, and thus created great confusion. As a striking example of this I may quote a passage from the work of Mr. Nash, which Mr. Wright cites as an authority. In translating the elegy on the death of Owen, the son of Urien, of Reged, that gentleman renders one of the stanzas as follows:—

“When Fflamddwyn slew Owain
There was no advantage.
From his going to rest
A wide number of Lloegrians went to sleep
With the light in their eyes.”

and then appends the following note: “The ordinary construction would give

“When Owain slew Fflamddwyn.”

But in an elegy on Owain the circumstances of *his* death are more naturally mentioned; and this reading renders the following lines

more intelligible. If Fflamddwyn were Ida, the bard could hardly say there was no advantage in his death, but he says, that even though Owain was slain in the battle, the army of the Llogerians were defeated."

Independent of the question whether such reasoning as this would entitle a translator to reverse the plain language of his author, when it is shown that it was not Ida who was known as the Flamebearer, not only does every difficulty in the text disappear, but the elegy presents us with one of those minute cases of historic accuracy, on the existence of which in the authentic poems I rely as incontrovertable proof that they are genuine and contemporary records. Mark the circumstances which surrounded the death of Ethelfrid, Ida's grandson, who was really the Flamebearer. He had expelled his brother-in-law, Edwi, from the throne of Deira, one of the sister kingdoms of Saxon Northumberland, while the great victory, of which we are informed by Bede, which his forces, under the command of his brother, gained over the northern confederacy had resulted in the death of Urien, the father of Owain, and the occupation of the territories of their tribe by the Saxons. The two exiles combined together and, aided by other allies, surprised, by a night attack, the camp of the Saxon king, when Ethelfrid fell by the hand of Owain. The consequence of this success was to establish Edwi in possession of both the Northumberland kingdoms; but it was of no advantage to Owain and his adherents, for their ally on his accession did not restore to them the territories of which their tribe had been deprived, but retained them in his own possession.

My position is, that we find in Welsh collections of MSS., which I at once admit cannot be supposed to be, 'at the outside, earlier than the eleventh or twelfth centuries, certain poems which I believe to be authentic records of events which occurred in the sixth or seventh, while Mr. Wright asserts that they could not have been composed earlier than the date of the MS. in which they are found for two reasons.

First. That there occur in them certain words which are spelt or used with an inflexion which was introduced at a date subsequent to the seventh century. This is really of no weight; it simply brings us back to the date of the MS. Any one who has compared an earlier edition of a mediæval book with a more recent one, must have seen the same continually occur. Indeed, is there any one of us who has not had occasion to guard himself most carefully in copying old deeds from this very tendency to modernize their language.

Second. That the poems appear in a form of rhyme and measure which was not known till the twelfth century. This is a point on which I feel that Mr. Wright's experience is such that I can hardly hope to contend against it. It, however, strikes me that he has not allowed sufficiently for the aptitude of particular languages for parti-

cular forms of versification. I am not so intimately acquainted with the early Celtic dialects to be able to say whether they naturally run into rhyme or not, but we all know that our own language is not adapted to the classical measures, and that in them we have scarcely got beyond the needy knife grinder, with his "Story I have none to tell, sir." Neither can I agree with Mr. Wright in thinking that the Gododin, the longest of the poems in question, is an example of anything like perfect rhyming metre. A school-boy could, in my opinion, find nothing easier than to go on jingling a termination as long as he pleased, then selecting another and dropping it in two lines if tired of it, being during the whole time independent of any fixed number of syllables, and at full liberty to leave a word necessary to the sense outside his rhymed termination; yet this is an exact description of the versification of the Gododin. The minor poems are, however, more artistically constructed.

At the same time I should be the last to deny that we have abundant proof that the text of these poems was tampered with, and polished in the twelfth century, a period at which there appears to have arisen in Wales a strong taste for poetry and literary compositions. Although in all poems, which were originally orally recited, various readings occur, the extent to which they are met with in the MS. of those under discussion is sufficient to show this. For example, take the Count de la Villemarqué's edition of the Gododin, *ad aperturam*, and we find that page 278 contains seventeen lines, while the notes comprise thirteen various readings, most of them of importance.

The real question, then, between myself and Mr. Wright resolves itself into this. Admitted that the poems have been tampered with, how far have they been altered, and how far do they still furnish us with trustworthy historic data to go upon?

In such a question the names of Chaucer and Dryden will at once recur to the memory. I agree with Sir Walter Scott in thinking that Dryden has given a different idea of manners than what is conveyed by Chaucer, and, therefore, I have long ago abandoned a scheme I once proposed to myself, of illustrating the manners of the Scoto-British in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the incidents in the poems we are now discussing; on the other hand it is clear that, independent of these minutiae of detail and feeling, Dryden has preserved all the main points of Chaucer's narrative, and this is what I contend was done by those who, in the twelfth century, polished the earlier Celtic lays, which, therefore, remain to us as valid historic records.

The real test of the authenticity of these poems is their contents, and the accordence of these with those of our other records which we know to be genuine and trustworthy. It is only when they agree with and explain these that I have founded on them, as I am convinced that

the rule *semper, ab omnibus, et ubique*, is as true a guide in archæology as it is admitted to be in theology.

In conclusion, I may shortly state the grounds on which I believe that these poems show intrinsic proof that they were composed at a period contemporary with the events they relate.

The very essence of all the Welsh writings of the twelfth century is what I may call a spirit of *Pan-Celticism*. This is the key to Geoffrey of Monmouth and all the writers of that day. They appear, like the Jews of old, to have demanded a king as the nations around them had, and so, exalting the pendragonship into a hereditary monarchy, elevated Arthur to the visionary throne. Against this idea almost every line of the old poems is a protest. What Welsh writer of the twelfth century would have called a chieftain of Powys *a stranger*, as is done in the Gododin.

Indeed, why should the Welsh poets of that period be so fond of selecting for the heroes of their songs a set of chieftains with whom they had no connexion, and whose tribes had been long annihilated, unless an historic account of their actions had come down to them.

The strongest proof, however, of the antiquity of these poems consists of a number of minute statements, which although they appear at first sight to present discrepancies from the admittedly genuine historic records of the sixth and seventh centuries, are invariably found on mature examination to be in the strictest accordance with them, and which would never have occurred to a person compiling a poem from these sources after the lapse of centuries. Thus, for instance, one of the chiefs of the Scots of Argyleshire is always designated by his individual name of Aidan, in the writings of Adamnanus, Bede, and the other chroniclers, but in the poems he appears under a slightly corrupted form of his patronymic Mac Gauran. Again, in one passage of the Gododin the Saxon forces are described as "the unbaptised hordes of a miscreant greedy of plunder." This, at first, seems totally unintelligible. These epithets could not apply to the Christian followers of Oswi of Northumberland, the brother of the canonised St. Oswald; but their complete and wonderful accuracy is established by a short statement in the Ulster Annals, which informs us that on this occasion Oswi was aided and assisted by his compatriot Penda, and by an obscure passage in Nennius, which refers to the capture of the city of Judu by the same Mercian king. In both of these passages, however, Penda is mentioned by name, and no allusion is made to his character, or to the fact that his subjects were still Pagans. Thus information is only to be gathered from other and widely separate sources, and by a minute, laborious, and, under the circumstances, apparently superfluous research, which no writer of the twelfth century would ever have undertaken. These poems, also, occasionally allude to geographical

facts, such as the connection between the great Roman road, or ystrad, in Northumberland, and a white stone in the valley of the Kail, of which no mention is to be found in any of the other chronicles or records, while we can hardly suppose a Welsh poet of the twelfth century to have had any personal knowledge of the existence and exact position of an obscure Roxburghshire streamlet.

I could easily refer to numerous other passages and statements of a similar character, but as many of these will at once occur to those who have read the discussion in the *Journal* (vol. xv, pp. 237-245, and xvi, pp. 218-225), between Mr. Poste and myself, I refrain from doing so, and conclude with the remark, that if these poems were compiled in Wales during the eleventh or twelfth centuries they are the most remarkable compositions ever written, preserving, as they do, amid apparent discrepancies, and in the most minute details, the strictest accordance with all the other historic records and chronicles which relate the events of the sixth and seventh, with some of which, such as the Dalreadic Duan, it can scarcely be supposed that their authors were acquainted, and alluding with the greatest accuracy to facts of which it is next to impossible they could have possessed the slightest knowledge.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE Association has received intelligence from Paris directing the attention of the Society to a very important publication which has been commenced by command of the Emperor Louis Napoleon, and subjected to the direction of our Foreign Associate, the Count de Laborde, consisting of the mediæval documents formerly kept in the Treasury, but now preserved in the Archives of the Empire. Mons. A. Teulet, Archivist in the archives of the empire, is entrusted with the work, to be published under the title of *Le Trésor des Chartes*, and is of all the mediæval collection of documents, perhaps, the largest known. There are 17,000 documents belonging to the beginning of the eleventh and extending to the middle of the sixteenth century. They have been divided into series, and by reigns.

The first series consists of documents from the accession of Henry I to the death of Saint Louis (20th July, 1031—24th August, 1270). Henry I, Philip I, Louis VI, Louis VII, 291; Philip Augustus Louis VIII, 1513; Louis IX, 3086—4900 documents. The second extends from the accession of Philip the Bold to the death of Charles the Fair (25th August, 1270—1st February, 1327). Philip III, the Bold, 1201;

Philip IV, the Fair, 3545; Louis X, Philip V, Charles IV, 1478—6224 documents. The third series, from the accession of Philip of Valois to the death of Charles VI (2nd February, 1327—22nd October, 1422). Philip VI, 1293; John, 642; Charles V, 1015; Charles VI, 1518—4468 documents. And the fourth series, from the accession of Charles VII to the death of Henry II. (23rd October, 1422—10th July, 1559.) Charles VII, Louis XI, 745; Charles VIII, Louis XII, 299; Francis I, Henry II, 309—1353 documents.

The documents, taken together, form the great Chartulary of the monarchy under the third race of the kings of France, and, from their variety, present the most complete picture of life in the middle ages. Treaties between nations, documents of ecclesiastical and civil history, documents relating to the Crusades, documents legislative and judicial, customary laws, statutes, political prosecutions, transactions of the States-general, acts of administration; documents touching the social *status* of individuals, marriage contracts, testaments, private contracts, are all brought together. This collection will furnish specimens of all the documents which, during six centuries, have been produced in a great nation, whether touching the relations of the sovereign with his neighbours and subjects, or of subjects with each other and with their sovereign. The collection will throw light on the progress of institutions as well as on the history of persons and events. It illustrates not only France, but the different countries of Europe which were in such constant intercourse with France during the middle ages. The English, Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Swiss, Dutch, Belgians, and even the most distant nations of the North, will find therein numerous documents of the highest interest for their history, documents which, from divers causes, passed into the hands of the kings of France, and which foreigners would seek in vain either in their own private collections or national records.

The first volume is now ready, and can be had at the price of £1 : 16 : 0, of M. Henry Plon, 8, Rue Garancière, Paris. The entire work will consist of 9 vols. large 4to.

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ON THURIBLES. J

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

THERE are few subjects within the range of ecclesiastical antiquities, in relation either to ornament or holy office, more interesting than the thurible; yet our information on the matter is of no great extent or speciality.

By thurible, according to its general acceptation, is meant a vessel commonly suspended by chains, used by the hand for the burning and disseminating of incense employed at mass, vespers, benedictions, processions, and other solemn offices or services of the Roman Catholic Church. The use of these instruments dates from a very early period, since they were employed under the old law, in the Temple of Solomon, in the celebration of sacred rites.¹ Bingham² says that censers and incense were not used during the first three ages of the Church, although Cardinal Bona and others of the Romish Church have contended for it. No mention of censers is made in any part of the *Constitutions*, under the names of the apostles. Evagrius,³ however, mentions golden censers together with golden crosses, as given by Chosroes to the church of Constantinople.

Georgius, an authority quoted by Mr. Pugin,⁴ and made

¹ Those who desire to be acquainted with the use of incense under the old law, and the particulars connected with its employment in the service of religion, may be referred to Dr. Rock's *Hierurgia* (cap. xvii), in which the matter is theologically treated of *in extenso*.

² *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, vol. ii, p. 165.

³ *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vi, c. 21.

⁴ *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, p. 206.

known to us through the medium of a translation by the Rev. Bernard Smith of St. Marie's, Oscott, has specified the thurible under the various denominations of *thymiaterium*, *thuricremium*, *incensorium*, and *fumigatorium*.¹ Upon referring to the first edition of the *Catholicon*, printed by Gutenberg at Mayence in 1460, I acquire another appellation, *thuricremulum*,—derived from *thus* and the verb *cremo*, in reference to its use. Also: "A thus et bolus componitur, vel quod ibi thus, mordetur et crematur: vel quod thuris bolosi morsellos cremat." Ducange also derives *thuribulum* from the material or ingredient used as incense,—"*thus*, frankincense, vas in quo thus reponitur." The *Poemata* of Alcuin gives evidence of its employment in the celebration of the mass by the Anglo-Saxons, as shewn in the following passage:

"Hic quoque thuribulum capitellis undique cinctum,
Pendit de summo fumosa foramina pendens,
De quibus ambrosia spirabunt thura Sabæa,
Quando sacerdotes missas offerre jubentur." (*Poem 3.*)

Prior to the Reformation, a pot of frankincense, smoking, was carried about in the churches; and Cowel says, "The chorister or boy who usually carried this thurible was called *puer thuribularis*; and I have heard of a happy conjecture of a most ingenious friend, that a treble voice in music was owing to the small and shrill tone of the *thuribular* or incense-boy,—as the said boy carrying a little tinkling bell in one hand, might possibly give the name of *treble* to the least bell."

Previously to describing the materials of which thuribles have been found to be composed, it may be well briefly to state the ingredients employed in incense, as from the origin of the word it may be conceived to consist solely of *thus*, or frankincense, which constituted an invariable portion of the substance in incensing. In the Holy Bible we find the various substances specially named. In Exodus :² "Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte³ and onycha⁴ and galbanum;⁵

¹ This term is sometimes applied to designate the incense-ship; which, however, is more generally known by the word *acerra*.

² Cap. xxx. v. 34-36.

³ *Storax officinalis*, a fragrant gum.

⁴ The *blutta byzantina*, a crustaceous covering (*operculum*) of the shells of some shellfish belonging to the *trochus* and *conus* genus, in which it resembles in appearance the human nail: hence its name.

⁵ A well known resinous gum.

these sweet spices with pure frankincense : of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation, where I will meet thee : it shall be unto you most holy."

We possess no authority for the precise form of a thurible. Montfaucon says it is unknown, but has been variously described. Julius Pollux¹ calls it a small fire-hearth or brazier. Ausonius² describes it as an elegantly formed vase with two elevated handles. The thurible is often depicted in early painted glass. We have given an excellent illustration in our *Journal*,³ from the north transept of Lincoln Cathedral, belonging to the thirteenth century. It has been seen on the obverse of a Jewish shekel, and represented by Calmet;⁴ but the coin is a counterfeit. It has been frequently carved; and I possess a drawing of two examples presented to me by my late respected friend, Mr. J. Adey Repton, taken by him in Sall Church, Norfolk, executed in stone at the west end of the church. (See plate 6, figs. 1, 2.) Thuribles have also been repeatedly represented in the paintings of the early masters, and are often found in the works of the German and Flemish artists. Mr. Shaw⁵ has copied one by Martin Schoen, of a very elaborate design. The earliest representation given of a censer, as far as I have been able to collect, is to be found in Cædmon's *Saxon Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture History*; which, together with a descriptive account of the plates, is to be found in the twenty-fourth volume of the *Archæologia*. On plate LXXXIII, one belonging certainly to the tenth or eleventh century is depicted, and has a cup-shaped base. (See fig. 3.) A double swinging censer is represented by Shaw⁶ as being used by an ecclesiastic at the burial of Edward the Confessor, belonging to the eleventh century. (See fig. 4.)

The material of which the thuribles are composed, is of various kinds. They are known of gold, silver, copper, bronze, and earthen material.

¹ Onomasticon.

² Idyllia, xii, 105.

³ Vol. xi, pl. 8, fig. 1.

⁴ History of the Bible, p. 546, figs. 3 and 4.

⁵ Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, vol. ii.

⁶ Decorated Arts, vol. i, pl. 22.

Gold.—Instances of thuribles of pure gold are recorded : thus, in the Bible,¹ we read as among the vessels in Solomon's house, "censers of pure gold." Dr. Rock,² in a note by Anastasius in *Vita S. Sylvestri* (t. i, p. 31), has the following notice : "Thimiamateria duo ex auro purissimo pens. libras triginta...Thimiamaterium aureum cum gemmis prasinis et hyathinchinis xlii. pens. libras decem." Of the more remarkable examples of thurible distinguished no less by the excellence of the workmanship than by the composition of the valuable metal of which they are constituted, I may mention those which Constantine the Great offered to the church of St. John Lateran,—“two thuribles of most pure gold, weighing thirty pounds.” To the baptistery of the same, “a thurible of most pure gold, weighing ten pounds, set round with green and purple jewels, forty-two in number.” The renowned Charlemagne, about the year 785, presented to the monastery of Charroux three golden crosses and seven golden thuribles. Pope Sergius, in A.D. 690, caused to be made a golden censer with pillars and cover, which he suspended before the image of St. Peter, in which the fragrance of incense is abundantly offered to God during mass on principal feasts.

Silver.—In silver, instances are recorded as having been met with in various places. Sixtus III gave to the Liberian basilica a thurible of silver weighing five pounds. In the monastery of St. Trudo, in the eighth century, were seven silver thuribles and two silver ships to carry incense. Bishop Conrad acquaints us that the treasury of Mayence possessed ten silver-gilt thuribles, and one of gold weighing three pounds. There were also eleven ships, one of which was formed of a single onyx made in the shape of a dragon with the hollow in the back, round which was a rim of silver inscribed with Greek letters. In the forehead of the beast was inserted a large topaz, and the eyes were formed of two carbuncles. Riculfus, bishop of Elms, left to his church, in 915, two censers with silver chains; and according to Evagrius³ there were, in the year 830, four silver censers adorned with gold in the monastery of Centule.

Some years since various articles of most precious ecclesiastical plate were brought to London from Basle, for sale in

¹ I Kings, chap. xxx, 34-36.

² Hierurgia, p. 776.

³ Hist. Eccl., lib. iv, c. 7.

this country; and I recollect seeing an exhibition of them in the anteroom of the Society of Antiquaries. They, however, did not find a purchaser here at that period. Among the articles were two large silver thuribles, one of which was in the collection of Prince Soltykoff at Paris, and has been figured by Lacroix and Seré.¹ The Very Rev. Dr. Rock² acquaints us that the treasury of St. Antonio's church, at Padua, possesses a most beautiful thurible of a very large size, silver gilt; and he says that the *navicula*, or boat, for holding the incense, is even finer and more curious than the censer itself, and is fashioned like a ship, with a mast and stern gallery. All about it are little figures of mariners and soldiers, some cased in regular armour. The thurible and boat were the gift of a Roman pontiff; but the workmanship, in the very competent opinion of Dr. Rock, is German. They are of the finest things of the kind to be met with; but the impression of the learned doctor is that they never were meant to be employed at the altar, but rather intended as votive offerings to be hung up at a shrine by way of ornament.

Dugdale³ has handed down to us notices of thuribles possessed by Lincoln and York cathedrals. At Lincoln he records :

"*Imprimis*, one pair of great censers, silver and gilt, with heads of leopards, with six windows, wanting two leaves and one pinnacle, and the height of 3 pinnacles, with 4 chains of silver, ungilt, with one knop wanting a leaf, and having 2 rings, one greater, and a less, weighing 88 ounces and half-quarter. *Item*, a pair of censers, silver and gilt, with 8 leopards' heads in the cup and 8 in the covering, with 5 pairs of silver, a knop with 2 rings, weighing 53 ounces and half. *Item*, a pair of censers, silver and gilt, with 3 leopards' heads and one Scripture *solī Deo honor et gloria*, with 4 chains of silver ungilt, a boss and 2 rings, wanting the height of one pinnacle, and a part of the knop of one pinnacle, and part of one window weighing 36 ounces. *Item*, 2 pairs of censers, silver and gilt, of bossed work, with 4 chains of silver, and every one of them a boss with 2 rings; having 6 windows and 6 pinnacles; one weighing 39 ounces one quarter and half, and the other weighing three and thirty ounces. *Item*, a ship, silver and gilt, with two coverings, having two heads, wanting 6 pinnacles and one flower, having a spoon with a cross in the end; weighing with

¹ Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance, tom. iii.

² Archæological Journal, xv, 122.

³ See *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

the spoon 33 ounces and a quarter. *Item*, 2 pair of censers of silver of bossed work, with 6 pinacles, and 6 windows, and every one of them having 4 chains of silver, 2 bosses, and 2 rings."

In York Minster :

"*Item*, 2 great silver censers, gilt, with the upper windows enamelled, and heads of leopards for the emission of smoke ; the gift of the Lord Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, weighing 16 lbs. 6 ounces and a half. *Item*, a new silver censer, gilt, with small silver roses about the upper shell ; the gift of Mr. Stephen Scrope, weighing 4 lbs. 8½ oz. *Item*, 2 silver censers, of one niche, with open windows on the upper shell, and containing cups of wrought iron, weighing 8 lbs. and 9 oz. *Item*, a new gilt censer with small silver roses about the upper shell ; the gift of the executors of Mr. Robert Weldon, once treasurer of this church, weighing 4 lbs. and a half. *Item*, a ship of silver to hold incense, with one spoon of silver-gilt, weighing 2 lbs. and ½ an ounce."

In St. Paul's, London, Dugdale also specifies,¹ from a visitation made by Dean Radulph de Baudak in April 1295,—

"Two thuribles of silver, entirely gilt outside, with engraved and embossed work, with church work and turrets, and 16 small silver bells hanging to them with chains of silver, ungilt, weighing xi marks xxd. *Item*, two thuribles of silver, with massive silver chains, entirely gilt outside, having church work and round turrets, and engraved bands, weighing 17 marks and a half. *Item*, two thuribles of silver, entirely gilt outside, ornamented with pine apples (*pinonato*) and chains of silver, weighing 8 marks and vs. *Item*, 2 thuribles of silver, gilt outside, with chains of silver, ungilt, ornamented with spiral work and pine apples (*cocleato et pinonato*), weighing v marks ixss. A ship of silver, engraved and parcel gilt, having the head of a dragon in the upper end, with a spoon and small chain of silver ; weighing xxxs."

Mr. Pugin says that in the sacristy of the great church at Louvain there is a finely wrought silver thurible, and that it is still used occasionally. Colonel Theubet possesses a pair of thuribles in silver, of the fourteenth century, which formerly belonged to the cathedral at Basle. In 1851 Mr. Hawkins exhibited to the Archæological Institute a silver thurible with its chains, belonging to Mr. Wells of Holme Lodge, Hunts (the lord of the manor), found in draining Whittlesea Mere. It weighed about fifty ounces, and

¹ Appendix, No. xxviii, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*. Lond., 1818. Fol.

has been figured by Mr. Shaw.¹ The date has been assigned to about 1350. With it was also a *navicula*, or ship, for incense, of the close of the same century. It was fashioned into rams' heads issuing from an ornament denoting the sea; and it has been ingeniously conjectured² to have formed a rebus of the name Ramsey, and had probably, with other plate found at the same time, been thrown into the Mere from Ramsey Abbey, for concealment at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Copper.—At Alton Castle, Staffordshire, the late Earl of Shrewsbury had a copper thurible of the twelfth century, richly enamelled. It had been discovered in excavating the ruins of the castle. There are several examples in the public collections at Paris and elsewhere. M. Didron³ has published an article, “Encensoirs et Parfums,” in which he enters upon the subject in a theological point of view as well as regards the art displayed in the execution of these vessels. Into the former it is not the purpose of our Association to enter: it is sufficient for us archæologically to look at them only as objects of art. The example specially figured by M. Didron is of a thurible of copper made towards the end of the middle of the twelfth century. This able archæologist visited the cathedral of Tournay, and there learnt that M. Benvignat, an architect of the city of Lille, had in his possession a remarkable thurible. Getting to view it, the French antiquary speaks in the most rapturous terms of the work. M. Benvignat had found it among broken pieces of iron in an old store-shop at Lille. He became the fortunate possessor of it for five or six francs. M. Viollet Le Duc has made a drawing, and it is engraved by Gaucherel in the *Annales Archéologiques*. In height it is little more than six inches. It is of copper beaten and chiselled. It has three compartments, and there are three chains belonging to it. At the top is an angel seated, and at his feet three figures are placed at equal distances. They are of three young Hebrews living in captivity at Babylon in the time of the prophet Daniel and the king Nebuchadnezzar,—Ananias, Misael, and Azarias. Their names are engraved at their feet. The angel holds in his hand the seal of God as it is called. The children

¹ Decorative Arts, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of the Middle Ages.

² Archæological Journal, viii, 195.

³ Annales Archéologiques, tom. iv, pp. 293-311.

are those saved from the fire by the interposition of the angel charged with his commission from the Deity.¹ Round the thurible is the following inscription :

✠ HOC. EGO. REINERUS. DO. SIGNUM. QUID. MICHI. VESTRIS.
EXEQUIAS . SIMILES . DEBETIS . MORTE . POTITO .
ET. REOR. ESSE. PRECES. VRANS². TIMIAMATA. CHRISTO.³

Didron gives the following version of the inscription : " Moi, Reinerus, je donne ce gage. A moi, en possession de la mort, vous me devez quelques preuves semblables d'amitié. Les parfums qu'on brûle en l'honneur du Christ sont, à mon avis, des prières."

Reinerus is not known, and it is conjectured that he was a priest and a monk.

The ornaments sculptured on the thurible are—of plants at the lower part, birds and fabulous animals in the centre, then the three young men, and at the summit the angel.

The Very Rev. Dr. Rock has given an account⁴ of a thurible lately exhibited at the fine loan collection of art treasures at the South Kensington Museum, which closely resembles that described by M. Didron. The subject is the same, though the mode of treating it varies in some trifling particulars. Dr. Rock, indeed, conjectures it may have been the work of the same artist, and does not hesitate to assign it to the twelfth century. It is of copper, and has been recently gilt. Dr. Rock has added chains to it, as they were wanting when he obtained it.

Martin Schoen, or Schongauer, a goldsmith of Colmar, one of the earliest, if not the first, to practise the art of engraving on copper, and whose works are esteemed equal to any thing that has proceeded from Albert Durer (who, indeed, has been looked upon as a pupil of Schoen), displayed his ability on a thurible which has been engraved.⁵ Its date has been assigned to about 1470. The censer is of copper, gilt, with four silver chains. The workmanship is elaborate. The chains are attached to angels, and there is a silver chain at the top. Mr. Shaw has given no history of this work. At the top of the cover there are five angels, whilst flowers and fruit form the chief subjects of the ornamentation of the

¹ Daniel, chap. iii. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

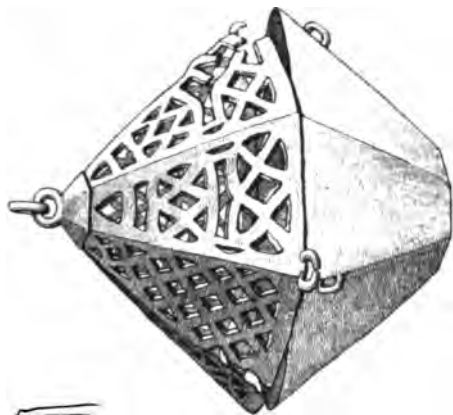
² Qy., Urens.

³ Written XPO.

⁴ *Archæological Journal* for June 1858, p. 119.

⁵ Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, vol. ii, pl. 68.

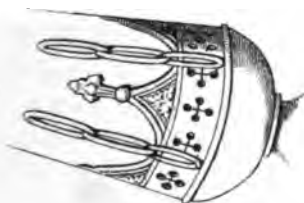
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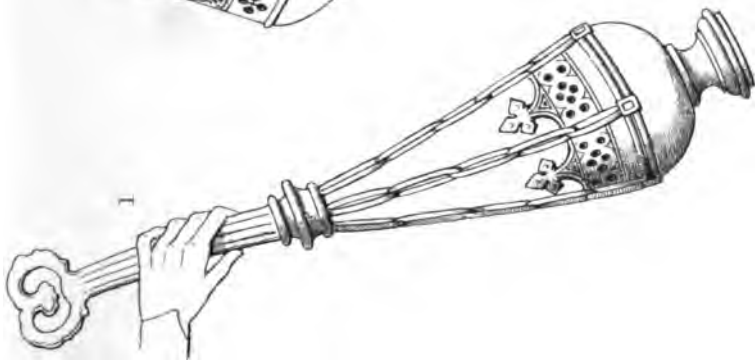
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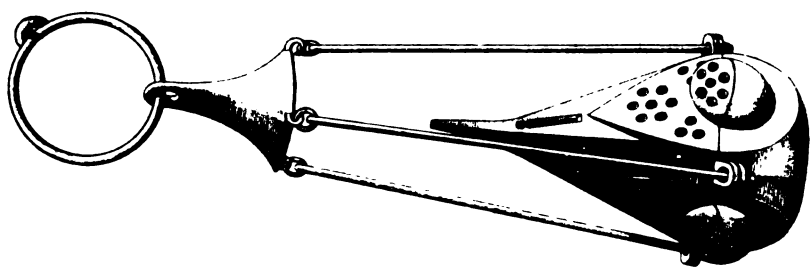


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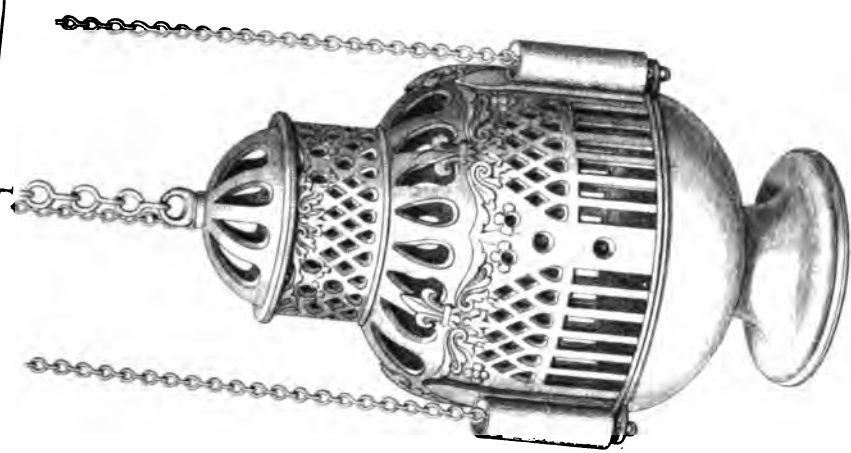




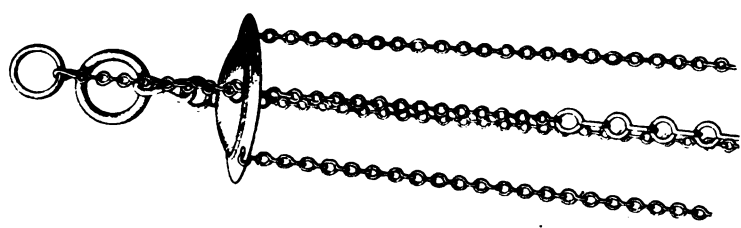
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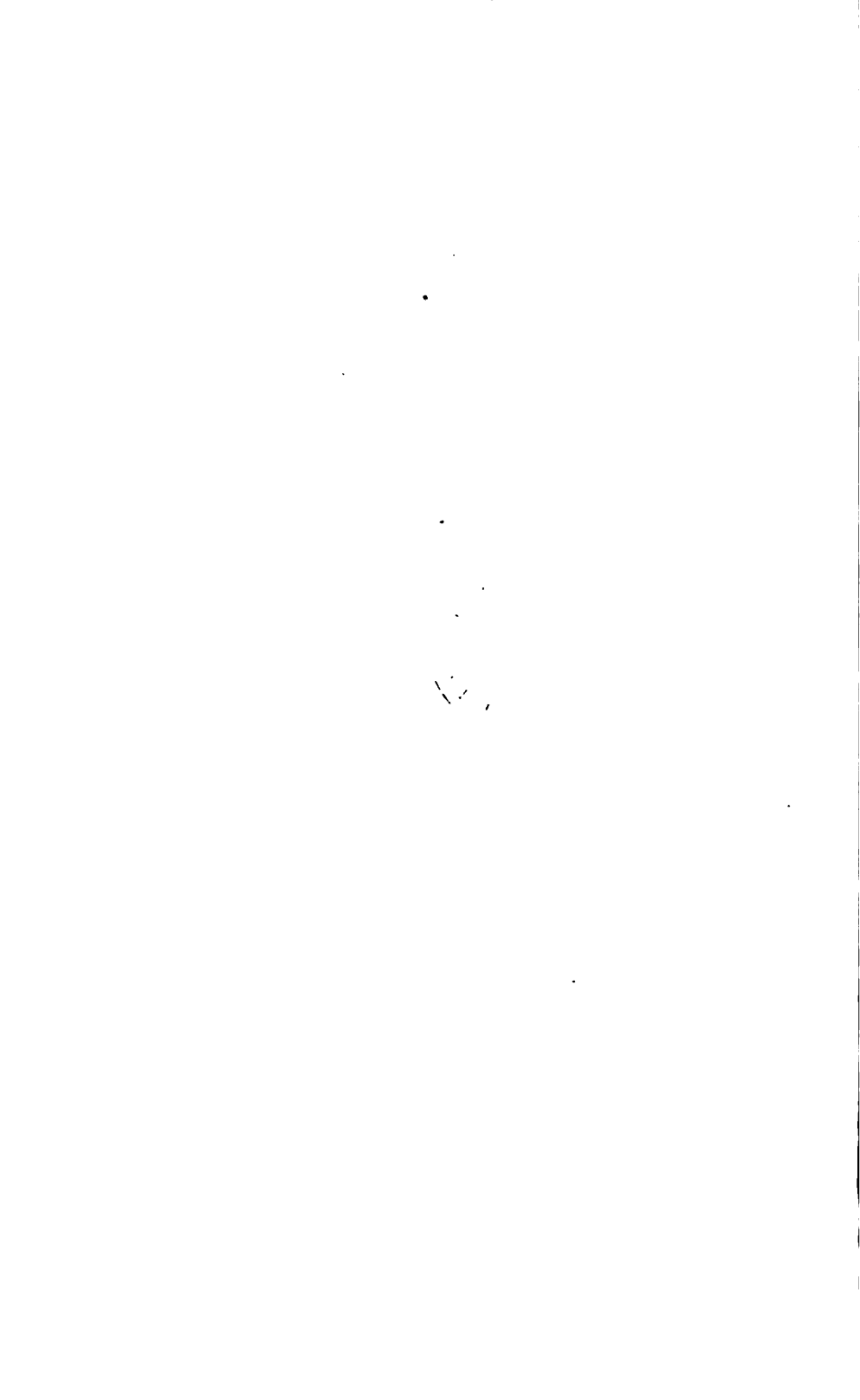


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body of the vase. There is no inscription, and the engraving given has been taken from one made by Schongauer. I have met with another good representation of it in an engraving in a collection of architectural ornaments of the middle ages.¹

In addition to the foregoing examples executed in copper, I am enabled to exhibit to the Association a specimen purchased by me at a recent auction, whence obtained I am unable to say. It was catalogued as being of the twelfth century,—a date to which it can have no pretensions. (See pl. 7, fig. 1.) In general outline it is nearly identical with vessels of the sixteenth century; but I suspect it cannot claim a higher antiquity than the seventeenth century. We have still the cup-formed base on a low foot, the cylindrical drum with arched shoulder, and cylindrical neck with dome-top; the three swinging chains fixed to a hat-shaped plate with ring above, and a fourth chain for raising the perforated cover. It is, in fact, just such a thurible as is introduced into paintings of the first named period; but the details are of a more modern character. In place of the quatrefoil and trefoil openings found in earlier examples, we have narrow, upright bars and lattice-work around the drum and neck; but the old ovate apertures are retained for the shoulder and dome. Other features worthy of notice in the drum are six fleurs-de-lys ensigning as many minute demi-figures of acolytes bearing a taper in either hand. The little acolytes are repeated among the ornaments round the neck, but the lilies are omitted. It may be remarked that the latter are at once emblematic of the blessed Virgin and of France, in which country this fine specimen was unquestionably wrought.

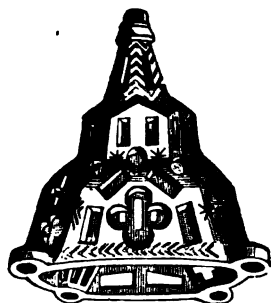
Mr. M. O'Connor is in possession of a thurible of much the same form and size as my specimen, but of thinner material, and dipped in tin; which he purchased a few years back from off a stall in the streets of Paris.

Bronze.—The examples in this compound material are rare. Mr. W. H. Forman has a remarkably fine specimen of bronze thurible; of which, by his kindness, I am enabled to present an illustration. (See plate 7, fig. 2.) Its history is unknown, and it was purchased of a dealer in antiquities, by whom it was reported to have been obtained from Zealand. It belongs to the fourteenth century, and possesses many

¹ By Charles Heideloff. Nuremb., 1844. 4to. Heft xiv, pl. v.
1863 12

features common to works of this time. It is in a high state of preservation, and consists of a cup pendent from three rods, upon which the six-sided pyramidal cover slides up and down, and which are held together above by a cone surmounted by a large iron ring, to which the swinging chain was attached. The cover has window-like and round perforations to permit the escape of the fumes of the incense.

In January 1846,¹ the Rev. Stephen Isaacson of Dymchurch, Kent, exhibited to our Association the upper part of a bronze thurible discovered in the wall of the church at this place during some repairs in the year 1844. It is now in the collection formed by our late associate, Mr. Thomas Bateman, and from its workmanship (see woodcut) would appear to belong to the latter part of the fifteenth century.



Mr. Robert Fitch, F.S.A., of Norwich, has also portions of a bronze thurible of a similar date, which were found at Lyng, near Elmham. The fragments are in a deteriorated condition; but present the cup or base and the ornamental cover perforated, to allow of the escape of the incense fumes. The open work is not altogether devoid of elegance; and it is observable that three chains originally had belonged to it. (See pl. 6, figs. 1, 2.) It is of rather unusual contour, the base and cover together forming a dodecahedron. The former is a plain, six-sided cup, and the latter has its six faces perforated with lattice-work. The two portions have been held together by the three chains; and the apex of the cover is provided with a ring, to which the lifting chain was affixed. There is little in the aspect of this specimen to guide us to its exact date; but it can hardly be assigned to a later period than the close of the fourteenth, or very commencement of the fifteenth century.

Terra-Cotta.—A few examples of thurible in this material have been met with, and they must not be confounded with what are commonly known as incense-cups,—a term, I believe, first applied to them by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. The vessels alluded to may probably have been devoted to such an use, but do not come within the

¹ Journal, vol. i, p. 47.

denomination of ecclesiastical antiquities; and I am not prepared to class any of the known examples of earthen thuribles under such an arrangement.

In our *Journal* for July 1848¹ is a notice communicated by Mr. Edward Pretty, F.S.A., of a discovery made by Mr. Weston of Brixworth, of an unbaked cup supposed to have been used as a thuribulum. It was found with several cinerary urns, apparently British, on the manor of Wolphage, south of the church, in the parish of Brixworth. The convexity of the bottom, which was stained with smoke as if it had been suspended over a fire, and the perforated projections at the side, to receive the cord or chain which suspended it, seem to afford ground for referring it to such a purpose; and it may also be mentioned that, at two places on the edge of the top, the material was broken or worn away by the means by which it had been suspended.



Our late associate, Lord Braybrooke, brought to the notice of antiquaries² a vessel which he, together with other authorities, named a thuribulum. It was discovered at Chesterford, Cambridgeshire, in company with some Roman coins and other antiquities. It is in the form of a font, and so like to the Saxon and Norman fonts of this country as to have rendered probable the conjecture that its design had been copied by the early Christian artists from some such heathen prototype. A font dug up amongst the ruins of St. Augustine's Abbey at Reading, since restored, and used in one of the churches at Reading, is said by the Rev. E. Parker to be precisely similar in form and workmanship to the little vessel in Lord Braybrooke's collection at Audley End. The shape is that of a globular basin, having the bottom of the cavity pierced with holes. It is supported upon a base formed of four short columns at the angles, and there is a semicircular arch on each side.



Another example of earthen incense-vessel is afforded by a notice of Roman pottery in our *Journal* of July 1846,³ communicated by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in a specimen in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Woodruff of Upchurch, Kent, of a perforated vessel of a red colour,

¹ Vol. iv, p. 142.

² *Antiqua Explorata*, p. 19, pl. iv.

³ Vol. ii, p. 136.

which Mr. Smith esteemed to have been intended for an incense-cup. The cut exhibits it in its present condition, but originally there was another handle on the opposite side.

Having thus noticed the occurrence of thuribles in various materials, allow me to direct your attention more particularly to the mode of manufacture adopted in their construction. The workmanship of many ancient specimens of thurible is not excellent. Great ingenuity, however, is displayed in the various contrivances for the emission of the fumes of incense to be poured forth; and that they might be able to be preserved in an upright position, when placed on the ground, their base was generally placed low. That no entanglement in the employment of them should arise from the chains by which the thurible was suspended, the tops of the instrument and the towers were specially designed. The lower part of the vessel, of course, held the ignited matter; and this was usually in a moveable iron pan.

It is to the writings of Theophilus,¹ the monk, "*humilis presbyter, servus servorum Dei, indignus nomine et professione monachi*," as he describes himself, we must have recourse in order to learn the mode of manufacture both of the wrought and the cast censer. His description is particular; and, availing myself of the published translation by Hendrie, which appears to have been accurately executed, I shall transcribe a portion of his statement :

"If you wish to make a censer in beaten work, in gold, silver, or brass, you will first purify it in the above order; and you pour into the iron moulds two or three or four marks, according to the quantity which you wish the upper portion of the censer to possess. You will then thin it in a circle, in the same way as the larger silver chalice above mentioned, excepting that this work is thicker, and is to be depressed deeper inside that it may be higher outside, so that its height may possess the whole of its breadth and one half of it. When you have lengthened out its height, before you limit the breadth, portray towers in it, namely, on the top (one octangular), in which the same number of windows are made; under which four square towers are made, upon every one of which three columns are placed, and between them two lengthened windows; in the midst of which, over the middle

¹ "Theopholi, qui et Rugerus, presbyteri et monachi, libri iii, 'De Diversis Artibus, seu Diversarum Artium Scheda.' " The MS. is of the earlier half of the eleventh century.

column, a small round window is made. Under these, in the third place, eight other towers are made, namely, four round, against the upper squares,—in which are made small flowers, or birds, or animals, or small windows,—and between these four square towers, which may be yet broader, in which the half-figures of angels are made as if resting in them with their wings. Under which, in the rounding itself of the vase, four arches are made, a little drawn out at the top, in which are made the evangelists, whether in likeness of angels or in figures of animals. Between these arches, upon the edge of the rounding, four heads of lions are placed, or of men, cast, through which the chains may pass. These things thus portrayed, they are struck out with the ductile and hammering irons, inside and outside, until they are altogether shaped; and are thus filed and rasped and chased with the sculpting instruments. This is the upper part of the censer. Then the lower part, with its foot, is struck out, in which four arches are made, which may correspond to those above, in which may rest the four rivers of Paradise, in human form with their urns, from which may be poured a likeness of flowing water. In the angles, by which the circles are joined together, the heads of lions or human faces may be fixed, so that the faces may adhere in the lower part in which the chains are fixed; and in the upper the manes, or hair, through which these chains may pass. But if the foot cannot be beaten with the lower part itself, it is made alone, in cast or beaten work, and can be placed on with the solder made with copper and silver, of which we have before spoken. Also the lily to which the ring is attached, and to which the chains are fixed above, is similarly made with ductile or molten work, in which flowers, or small birds, or beasts, are formed, according to the quality of the labour below. If this censer be silver or brass, it can be gilt in the manner before mentioned.

“But should any one wish to apply more labour, so as to compose a censer of more costly work, he can, after this manner, express the likeness of the city which the prophet saw upon the mount.” (Cap. LX.)

From this account it will be seen how precise were the rules laid down for the formation of this ecclesiastical instrument. It shews also, by its arrangement of subjects, how truly it will be able to shew the period of its execution; for the description applies with great precision to Byzantine art seen in the arrangement of the octangular towers, the lengthened windows, long columns, etc.; and with all there is a symbolism combined,—doubtless the most important consideration in its formation.

Examination of the most remarkable thuribles known will shew adherence to the rules laid down by Theophilus, but

the ornamentation to a certain degree varies: thus the thurible of the Prince Soltykoff, formerly at Basle, and figured¹ in *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance* of Lacroix and Seré, is confined principally to the architectural construction, no birds, or beasts, or flowers, being wrought in it.

The directions for the cast censer (cap. lxi) are, if possible, more precise than that of the beaten one; and particularly describes the mode of making the moulds, the admixture of clay and wax, and the various manipulations necessary to the perfection of the work. Theophilus also devotes a chapter to the construction of the chains, the middle one being directed to be made shorter than the others; the adjustment of them to prevent entanglement, the fastening of them by nails and by rings, are very specifically stated.

ON SIGNACULA FOUND IN LONDON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE group of leaden *signacula* which form the subject of the accompanying plate, were found at various times in London, and offer some curious and novel types of the religious baubles of the middle ages, sold at sacred places and worn by pilgrims in token of having paid their vows and knelt before the shrines and relics of saints and martyrs and holy ones of old.²

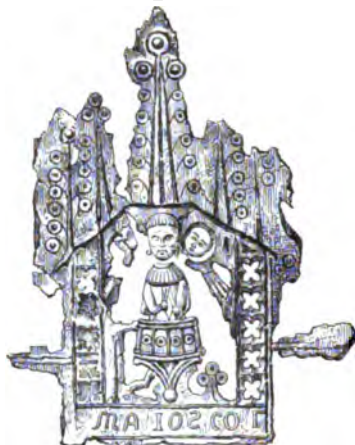
The first specimen (plate 8, fig. 1) was found at Puddle Dock, Blackfriars, and is the property of our associate, Mr. C. Ainslie. It is a brooch of the fourteenth century, representing an ecclesiastic in gown and cape standing in a polygonal pulpit placed beneath a canopy of five pinnacles. On each side the preacher has been a figure; but little more than their heads now remain, that on the right side being apparently crowned. By the base of the pulpit is a trefoil, and on a band beneath is a legend, the first two words of which seem to stand for *Magister Johannes*, but the import of the third is doubtful. In the British Museum is a leaden *signum* of early fifteenth century work, found in the Thames in

¹ Tom. iii.

² On this subject, see *Journal*, i, 200.



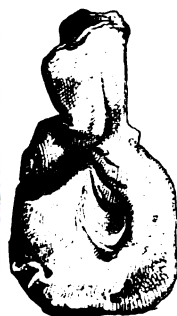
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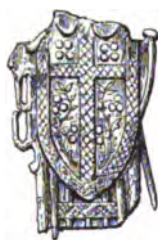
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The Fig^s are real size.

1836, which has a preacher in a similar pulpit to the above, with trefoils on the ground; but around the device is a quinquelateral label, apparently inscribed, MR CRSTOF GOR... CHE (?). Signs with figures of preachers are exceedingly rare, and at present we are unable to localize either of those here described.

Mr. Ainslie's collection also furnishes our next subject (fig. 2), which was recovered from the Thames, and may be referred to the close of the fifteenth century. It is a broad-mouthed *ampulla* with lateral loop-handles, with an arched crown on each side of the rotund body, beneath one of which is the letter W. Such *ampullæ* have been regarded as representations of *la sainte ampoule* at Rheims, which tradition says descended from heaven filled with oil for the baptism of Clovis, A.D. 496, and which in after times held the holy oil wherewith the kings of France were anointed at their coronations. In *Piers Plowman's Vision*, a pilgrim is described as having

"An hundred of ampulles
On his hat seten";

but they must have been of smaller size and flatter construction for such a purpose than that in our plate, and may have been worn suspended round the neck or depending from the rosary,—the initial on its front indicating it, in all probability, to be a sign of "our Ladie of Walsingham," and presenting the form of the crystal vessel in which the Virgin's milk was kept on the high altar of her church. The religious baubles of the middle ages certainly included other *ampullæ* than those of Rheims. The *signacula* of "our Lady of Boulogne" were of vial-shape, bearing on one side her figure in a ship, in allusion to the legend that, in the seventh century, the image of the Virgin was brought hither in a bark without sails or sailors, guided alone by divine influence. And in our *Journal* (vi, 125) is engraved a leaden *ampulla* of the thirteenth century, on one face of which is the effigy of St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹

¹ The interest of this relic is by no means developed in the remarks which accompany the plate. The inscription encompassing the effigy has been rendered, "the best physician for the good invalid is Thomas," whilst a representation of a suffering person appears on the reverse of the *ampulla*. This is, no doubt, one of the vessels which held the diluted blood of the martyr, which Gervase records was "carried forth into the whole world, and when given to the sick, and poured into some that have been dead, has both restored health to the former and life to many of the latter through the merits of St. Thomas."

Of less dimensions, and undoubtedly of far earlier date, than Mr. Ainslie's specimen, is the leaden *ampulla* represented in fig. 3. It has lateral handles for suspension, but is ill adapted for attachment to the hat. Neither its neck nor globose body bear any device, but its similitude to the holy vial gives support to the notion of its being a pilgrim's sign from the ancient abbey of St. Remi.

The mention of the *ampulla* of St. Thomas of Canterbury may be followed by the exhibition of one of his little *signacula* (fig. 4) which bears his full-faced bust, with low triangular mitre such as was worn during the thirteenth century; but the jeweled *titulus* and *circulus* point to a somewhat later period. The *parura*, or apparel of the amice, is also adorned with gems.¹ On one side the head is the letter T, on the other O: the first, no doubt, being the initial of Thomas; the second possibly of the word *occisus*, indicating it to be the image of Thomas the slain. This little disc has a cable edge, within which are eight perforations to permit of its being sewed on the hat or garment. That signs of Becket were exposed on the person as early as the twelfth century, is evident from the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, that, at an interview which he and some companions had with the Bishop of Winchester in London, the latter told them he perceived they had come from Canterbury by the *signacula* of St. Thomas hanging about their necks.

The next sign (fig. 5) is a brooch in form of a fleur-de-lis within a broad nimbus decorated with a star of twelve rays, and having an annulet beneath, from which a relic may once have depended. The device has been taken for that of St. Louis of France; but it is more likely to be the lily of the Virgin, whose relics were to be seen at several places in England,—as, for instance, some wool which she spun, a garment she had made, and the bed on which she slept, were at Canterbury; her milk, as already stated, at Walsingham; and her miraculous images in divers places. This badge is of the fourteenth century.

The succeeding sign (fig. 6) is verged with a stellar nimbus of similar character to that last described, but in each of the thirteen rays are three pellets. In the centre of the disc is

¹ This bust resembles one on the seal of John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury 1333-1348, which in all probability represents the "*tota facies*" of St. Thomas mentioned by Erasmus.

a cross composed of the four holy nails and the five wounds of our Saviour, one of the latter forming the umbo of the device. We cannot doubt that this *signum* refers to some relic of our Lord, the nails and gouts rendering it probable that it was some of the "true blood," of which portions were preserved at Westminster and Glastonbury, at Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, and Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire. The sacred treasure at the latter place was the most renowned of all, and is thus mentioned by Chaucer in *The Pardoner's Tale*:

"By Goddes precious herte, and by his nails,
And by the blood of Crist that is in Hailes."

The palmer in Heywood's play of *The Four P's*, speaks of having been

"At Ridybone and at the blood of Hayles,
Where pilgrymes paynes ryght muche awayles."

The brooch which forms the subject of fig. 7 seems to represent a bear gnawing a fruit, and may therefore be a *signum* of St. Mang, who is depicted standing beneath a crab-tree admonishing a bear not to touch the best apples. This sign, like the majority of those found in London, is of the fourteenth century.

Next to St. Thomas of Canterbury no saint was more popular in England than St. Leonard, the patron of captives. Barnabe Googe, in his *Popish Kingdom*, tells us from Nao-georgus, that—

"Leonerd of the prisoners doth the bandes asunder pull,
And breakes the prison doores and chains, wherewith his
church is full."

Hence it is that this potent Frenchman is almost constantly represented holding chains and manacles, as in the fragment of his image given in fig. 8. He here appears in rich chasuble having a broad cross on its front, with a flower between each limb, and beneath is shewn the apparel of the alb. The chain in the right hand has a gyve at either end; and the left hand holds the pastoral staff, the volute of which is lost. This sign is of superior workmanship, and belongs to the fourteenth century. In the British Museum is a very similar headless figure, with a label beneath the feet inscribed S. LENNARD, leaving no doubt of the person intended to be

represented. These *signacula* are supposed to refer to the Priory of St. Leonard at York.

We have dwelt upon a token with the lily; let us now turn to one with a rose (fig. 9). This *signum* might at first sight be taken for the badge of Edward IV; but on inspection it will be found that the rose is not *en soleil*, and that the quatrefoil upon which the lozenge rests is not inscribed with the royal motto; and, moreover, the strictly religious nature of the object is determined by the label of letters, INRI. This may be the ornamented top of the perpendicular beam of a crucifix,—a badge of some shrine wherein a portion of the holy rood was exhibited. Its date is about the middle of the fifteenth century.

In our *Journal* for December 1860 (xvi, 338) is described a wooden cup on which is carved St. Hubert with the cruciferous stag as it confronted him whilst hunting during Holy Week, in the Forest of Ardennes, at the early part of the ninth century. We have now before us one of the little signs of this illustrious patron of dogs and hunters, in which, however, neither man nor beast appears, but a bugle-horn, the knotted viols of which are surmounted by a cross (fig. 10). At the back is a loop by which the device was attached to the hat or dress. This *signum* appears to be of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work.

The eight *signacula* now described were all recovered from the Thames, near the site of old London Bridge, and may have been there lost by some of the pilgrims who breathed their orisons in the chapel dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr.

Before closing the subject I would call attention to a curious *signum* engraved in the *Journal* (vii, 160), and now reproduced. This brooch was discovered in Brickhill-lane, and cannot be assigned to a later period than the commencement of the fourteenth century. It bears, within a broad verge decorated with circlets, a large K,—the initial, as I take it, of St. Kenelm, the young king of Mercia, who was sacrificed to the ambition of his sister Quendreda. According to the legend, the place of the child's interment was unknown until an angel let fall, on the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome, a scroll inscribed in golden letters—



"In Clent cow-pasture, under a thorn,
Of head bereft lies Kenelm, king-born."

The exact spot is reported to have been afterwards indicated by a ray of light settling over the body, and the remains of the little saint were at length translated to the Abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire; and it is affirmed that many miracles were wrought at his tomb. In the *Archæologia* (xxxviii, pl. 5, fig. 11) is a demi-figure with an inscribed label beneath it, which the Rev. T. Hugo imagines to be a sign of St. Kenelm; but it has more the aspect of an ecclesiastic with a pastoral staff than a sceptered monarch.¹

Having now reviewed the leaden *signacula*, I will introduce to your notice a matrix of the fourteenth century, in which the emblems of St. Luke have been cast, and which was found in Fleet Ditch in February 1847 (fig. 11). This rare and interesting mould is of greenish grey soap-stone, with the face incised with two winged oxen; but the forepart of the one, and the hindquarters of the other, are unfortunately broken away. Both stand on a curved label, which is, as usual, uninscribed; but a similar label beneath the evangelistic symbol on the tomb of Lady Elizabeth de Montacute, in Christchurch, Oxford (1355) bears the words *LVCVS MANVS EST*.²

Although the Mount of Sinai, the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the Vernicle at Rome, the Three Kings at Cologne, and the "Shadow" of Santiago at Compostella, drew around them pilgrims from every corner of Christendom, England did not lack attractions for the devout. The Virgin's milk at Walsingham, the Saviour's blood at Hailes, the shrines of St. Alban, St. Bede, and St. Cuthbert, were famed throughout Europe. London boasted of the remains of St. Miletus, St. Erkenwald, and Egwolfus; Westminster of St. Edward, Hereford of St. Ethelbert, and Canterbury of her glorious martyr, St. Thomas. But England's shrines and relics have

¹ In addition to the *signacula* already referred to, our *Journal* contains engravings of two others worthy of notice. The earliest is a leaden plaque of the end of the fourteenth century, with effigies of Christ and the Virgin (viii, 363). The other is of the close of the sixteenth century,—a jet sign of St. James of Compostella, set in a silver-gilt scallop-shell with loop at back for attachment to the hat (iii, 126). Descriptions of the signs of our Lady of Loretto will be found in vol. xii, 264.

² The winged bull and the other evangelistic signs on labels are well displayed on the seal of Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury 1313, given in this *Journal*, x, 74.

passed away; little remaining to attest their former eminence, with the exception of a few leaden *signacula*,—worthless as metal, yet valuable as truthful witnesses of ancient custom. The toilsome pilgrimage has ceased, the pious work is over; and well can we fancy the last pilgrim, famished and foot-sore with his journey, breathing forth the words of Heyrick—

“Here down my wearied limbs I’ll lay :
My buttoned staff, my weed of gray,
My palmer’s hat, my scallop-shell,
My cross, my cord, and all farewell !”

ON SOME ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY FOUND AT CIRENCESTER, THE ROMAN CORINIUM.

BY T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

CORINIUM must have been one of the most interesting of the towns of Roman Britain. It stood in what, to judge from the rather abundant remains which have been discovered at various times, may perhaps be considered to have been the most aristocratic part of the Roman province, and its municipality must have contained men of great wealth, and also of highly cultivated minds, for in the country around have been discovered the remains of some of the most magnificent Roman villas of which our island could boast. No relic, therefore, of the Roman period which is found there can fail to attract our attention ; and it is with great pleasure that we have been enabled to exhibit before the Association during the present season the results of some late discoveries there, as communicated by Professor Buckman, whose work upon Corinium ranks deservedly among the most valuable archæological publications of the present day. The best notion of the circumstances under which these antiquities were found, will be given by an extract from Prof. Buckman’s letter accompanying them. He says,—

“The parallelogram forming the enclosure of Corinium has its long direction nearly north and south. A line drawn across the middle,

dividing it into two nearly equal proportions, would in its northern half separate the modern Cirencester from the southern half, which until lately was principally occupied as a nursery garden. Lately, however, about thirty acres of this space have been sold in building allotments, and it is of the works consequent thereupon, that I would now give you some few notes. The sub-soil of this garden is that of the forest marble clay, etc., here about fifty feet in thickness, beneath which occurs the oolite of the age of the Bath freestone, so that here can be no natural quarrying except at a great depth, but still the remains of ancient buildings are so great, that at depths varying from two to ten feet, the purchasers find enough stone not only to build their boundary walls, but also to assist in the construction of the new dwellings now rapidly rising in this position. These old stones usually run in wall lines of greater or less thickness, thus forming the basis and foundations of dwellings and rooms. The walls of the latter not unfrequently retaining remains of plaster and colour, whilst the floors are of every kind, often mixed with fragments, more or less perfect, of elaborate tessellated designs.

“As an instance of the latter, I would remark that the other day a portion of a pavement was exposed, which indicated a large apartment, the middle of which was divided into spaces of about four feet long and three feet broad, each separated by a handsome guilloche border, and the whole surrounded by bands of black and white tesserae. There seems reason to think that these spaces were for some figures, but as yet not enough has been exposed to enable us to decide.

“In making these excavations, different remains are at all times brought to light. In the present instance a few yards of work, besides remains of pottery, coins, bronze and iron relics, exposed two sculptured stones, which I deem of sufficient interest to forward to the Archaeological Association. One block, though much injured, has a carving of a Mercury, which, as it is of so common occurrence at Cirencester, may deserve a passing notice. Some time ago, in making excavations in the same garden, I discovered a fine stone sculpture, in the white freestone of the district, of a Mercury holding the purse in the right hand and the caduceus in the left, with his attendants the goat and the cock; and I have a fine bronze of the same deity. The prevalence of Mercurial attributes, seems to confirm the view which I have before expressed,¹ that *Corinium* was a capital city, having all the characteristics of a metropolis—warlike preparations, temples, and places of amusement—besides which, the domestic arrangements, utensils, and works of art, may be expected to point it out as a place of luxurious retirement.

¹ See *Remains of Roman Art*, by Professor Buckman and C. H. Newmarch. Lond., 1850, 4to., p. 17.

"Here then would be a centre for merchandize, and hence, probably, *Mercury* as the protecting deity of merchants, we would hope not of thieves, was so much honoured at Corinium."

The two sculptured stones alluded to in Professor Buckman's letter are engraved in our plate 9. The first of these, fig. 1, is the one he has described in the preceding extract, and which he appears to have rightly interpreted as representing Mercury. The other, fig. 2, presents the well known triple group of the *Deæ Matres*, found so frequently on Roman sites in different parts of Britain. It is hardly necessary here to enter into any account of the attributes of these deities, as the subject has already been treated in considerable detail in a former volume of this Journal,¹ as well as in my volume entitled *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*;² but it may be remarked, that they have a peculiar interest for us, as they appear to represent especially the popular mythology of the Teutonic race, and they are therefore so many monuments of the large intermixture of that race in the Roman population of this island long before the close of the Roman period. Their worship, moreover, can be traced down through the middle ages, in England, Germany, and northern France, to a comparatively recent period. Every addition, therefore, to the number of such monuments found in this country adds to our historical knowledge, independent of the variations which may be found in them. The inscription belonging to this example is unfortunately lost.

The sculptured stones were communicated to the Archæological Association in the month of February, 1862; in April last Professor Buckman further exhibited some objects in iron, also found at Cirencester. The most curious of these was a Roman padlock, figured in our plate, fig. 3. It is a form of Roman lock which is now tolerably well known, though it was not understood until the discovery, by the late Lord Braybrooke, then the Hon. Mr. Neville, in 1854, of two very fine examples among a quantity of Roman iron-implements, dug up in the parish of Great Chesterford in Essex, the side of one of which having been broken away, exposed the machinery of the interior. The key of this lock was also found with it, which further assisted in the explanation. Mr. Neville published an account of the

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 239-55.

² P. 285, 2nd edition.



$\frac{7}{8}$ Real size.



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Scale for Fig. 3 to 9, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ Inch to the Foot.



various objects discovered on this occasion in the *Archæological Journal* (of the Archæological Institute) for March 1856 (vol. xiii, p. 1), from which we copy, in our plate 9, fig. 4, the figure of the lock which was thus opened, with its key. The complete resemblance of this padlock and the one found at Cirencester will be seen at once. This lock was of rather large dimensions, consisting of a square shaped box or case, five inches and a half long by two inches and a half broad, and three deep, with a strong rod, which runs parallel to the side of the box, and joins it at its lower end by a curve. The shackle or bolt (*vinculum*) of this lock is a separate piece of iron from the lock itself, and consists of another rod of iron, with two crossbars having rings, or loops, at the ends, and, at one end of the rod, eight springs fixed on four square bars. At the upper end of the chamber of the lock there was an aperture, through which the springs were pushed, and, when they had passed the inner side of the case of the box, they sprung back, and presented an insurmountable obstacle to the withdrawal of the bolt. The padlock was thus locked, and it is evident to any one that it would be difficult to pick it, and, to one who was not acquainted with its mechanism, almost impossible. The key to this lock, which is here also represented, fig. 5, consists of a rod, at right angles to a square frame at the end, containing wards which fit the springs of the bolt. At the lower end of the box of the lock there is a thin slit, through which the frame of the wards is pushed sideways; and then the slit allows it to be turned round internally, so that the rod of this key is then at right angles to the end of the box. It is only necessary further to push it in, the wards fit the springs, and, as the key is pushed up, compress them, until they are so far compressed that they will repass the opening into the box, and the bolt may be withdrawn. The rod, to which the springs are attached, was, in the case of the example just described, eight inches long, and two and a half in girth; while the rod to which the box was attached was sixteen inches and a half in length. In the example found at Cirencester, the box is four inches long, by about two and a half wide, and one end seven-eighths thick, and the shaft is about fourteen inches long, so that it is somewhat smaller than the Chesterford lock. Portions of locks of this same construction and form are often

found on Roman sites, many of which have been of much smaller dimensions. A number of pieces of the bolt or shackle, all of the same size, and not much more than half the dimensions of the Chesterford example, were found at Wroxeter, on the site of the Roman Uriconium, in one part of what is believed to have been the basilica, or court-house, of the Roman city. It is a curious circumstance that this ingenious construction of padlock continued in use through the middle ages, and down to a comparatively recent period. One in my possession, engraved in our plate, fig. 6, is not probably more than two hundred years old, and is supposed to have been of Spanish make. It implies an improvement on the Roman padlocks just described, as it is more compact, and combines strength with convenience. The cross-bars with the rings are here fixed to the box, instead of the bolt which carries the springs; and this bolt is joined to the other bar, somewhat in the form of a staple. The bolt and bar, with the springs attached to the former, of a similar padlock, are shewn in the Museum at Leicester, where they are erroneously described as a staple. These appear to be mediæval, but they are said to have been found at a considerable depth, among objects which undoubtedly belong to the Roman period, and they may be Roman also. I am told that a number of similarly constructed padlocks, of a comparatively recent date, were found some years ago in a neglected room in one of our old provincial prisons, under circumstances which would leave little room to doubt that they had been used to fasten the shackles of prisoners. The place where they were found, and the fact that at least one fragment of a strong chain was met with near the same spot, would induce us to suppose that those found at Wroxeter had served the same purpose.

Among the other objects exhibited by Professor Buckman were two sword-like blades of iron (figs. 7, 8) selected from a hundred and twenty similar examples found at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire. The examples here engraved measure, respectively, thirty-one inches and a half, and thirty-four inches in length. They are of the form and length of blades of swords, yet the metal at the end is bent into imperfectly formed sockets not large or strong enough to hold them firmly at the end of staves; for which they seem at first sight to have been intended, to serve as spears. When

found they were all carefully arranged, socket and point, as though they had been packed together in a chest; but no remains indicating any chest were found with them. A third example, measuring thirty-one inches in length, and found at Minety, was exhibited at the same time. (See fig. 9.) Similar weapons, as Mr. Syer Cuming stated at the meeting, have been found at Hod Hill, near Blandford, in Dorset, and within the entrenchments at Meon Hill in Gloucestershire; in the latter case no less than three hundred and ninety-four having been discovered, in 1824, similarly laid with those at Bourton.

The fullest account of the Roman remains found at Hod Hill is given by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua* (vol. vi, p. 1). Seventeen were found at Hod Hill, which were on an average thirty-four inches in length, and had similar curvings-in of the metal (rather than sockets) as those found in Gloucestershire. They were evidently on their way to manufactories to be supplied with handles of some kind; and Mr. Smith has conjectured, with some appearance of reason, that they were "imperfect swords fabricated from native iron, and prepared for the final strokes of the war-smith." The circumstance that this class of objects have been always found in quantities, would seem to confirm Mr. Roach Smith's opinion: at all events I cannot at all agree in the opinion of Sir Samuel Meyrick, that these were the javelins of the Roman *velites*, as they seem to me to coincide in no single particular with the description of those weapons given us by the ancients. They probably belong to a rather late period of the Roman occupation.

ROMAN ENGRAVED STONES

FOUND ON THE SITE OF URICONIUM, AT WROXETER, SALOP.

BY T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

THE art of engraving on precious stones, or glyptography as it is usually termed, appears to have been practised at a very early period among the Egyptians; but it was carried to its greatest perfection by the Greeks and Romans. Among the latter people especially such engraved stones were in very common use, and great importance appears to have been attached to them; and this fashion extended through the empire into its most distant provinces. Pliny speaks of the love of precious stones as being in his time a "universal passion." Besides their extreme beauty, and that value which is always conferred by rarity and great dearness, these precious stones were the objects also of superstitious feelings; for people were rather naturally led to believe that objects in which nature had crowded so much beauty and value in so small a space, must also possess hidden virtues which were not shared by ordinary things. By working upon this first idea, they began to associate particular qualities with the particular colour, or shape, or degree of brilliancy of the stone itself. Thus the possession of one stone gave the wearer fortitude and courage, another preserved him from danger, a third gave him health, a fourth might ensure fidelity in his engagements. People sought to increase the force of these various virtues by engraving upon them figures and subjects which they imagined to have some mysterious relationship with those qualities, under circumstances favourable to their development. Thus the figure of Mars engraved on a particular stone, and commenced at an hour of the day when the heavens were in a particular astrological position, was supposed to ensure to the wearer victory in battle. It was from such feelings, apparently, that the art of glyptics took its rise.

It was thus, too, that these engraved gems came into use as signets, and were set in rings for the convenience of carrying them on the fingers. A letter or other object sealed

with an engraved stone, was believed to derive from that circumstance a certain character of authority and sacredness which it would not otherwise possess. Moreover, particular rings became characteristics of particular persons, and were used as tokens in which entire trust might be placed, in confidential communications. The personal history of the ring, indeed, would be a very curious one, and the materials for it are abundant. It was a common belief that the great powers possessed by remarkable individuals in eloquence, in influencing peoples' minds, in commanding fortune, in conciliating love, and even in ruling over the hidden powers of the spiritual world, were contained in a ring. According to the eastern and mediæval stories, it was a magical ring which gave Solomon power over the demons and genii. One day, when Solomon laid down his ring to enter his bath, it was carried away by an evil being, who threw it into the sea. The wise king, overcome with grief at the loss of his power over the supernatural world, made a vow never to sit again upon his throne until he had recovered his ring; and at the end of forty days, on opening a large fish which was served at the royal table, the valuable jewel was found in its belly. This story is similar to that told by the ancients of Polycrates of Samos, who, alarmed by his long run of uniform good fortune, lest it might be followed by some great and disastrous change, sought to appease the fickle goddess by subjecting himself to voluntary loss; and, with this view, threw away into the sea his ring, in which was a precious stone which he looked upon as one of the most valuable of his treasures. The ring was immediately swallowed by a large fish, which was soon afterwards caught; and, being purchased for the table of Polycrates, the ring was found in its belly, and restored to its right owner. The ring, with its engraved stone, sometimes possessed the power of rendering its owner invisible at will. Such was the ring of Gyges the Lydian, which he employed to gain secret access to the queen of Candaules, and seduce her affections,—an intrigue, the result of which was the murder of Candaules, and the elevation of Gyges to his throne.

But, to return to the more authentic stories of the use of engraved stones, Pliny (lib. xxxvii, cap. 3) tells us that King Pyrrhus possessed an agate on which was engraved by nature the figure of Apollo and the Nine Muses. The

same writer records the subjects of some of the engraved stones possessed by men of celebrity. The Dictator Sylla used for his signet a stone on which was represented the surrender of Jugurtha. The Emperor Augustus was in the habit at first of using the figure of a sphinx for his signet, one of two engraved stones presenting the same subject which he found among his mother's jewels. As this device gave rise to jokes on the enigmatical language in which he used to write, Augustus subsequently abandoned the sphinx, and adopted as his signet a stone engraved with the head of Alexander the Great. A frog was engraved on the signet of his minister, Mæcenas. Wealthy individuals began soon to make collections of engraved stones; and at a very early period in the history of the empire it was a subject of great pride at Rome to possess a well-stocked dactyliotheca.

The eagerness for the possession of engraved stones, and the value set upon them, seemed to increase as the empire declined; and they were no less highly prized by the barbarians who settled upon its ruins, and who considered them as a valuable part of their plunder. The art, too, was continued, although in a very debased state. As we have seen, in the earlier period, the engraved stones possessed two distinct values: one, for their extreme beauty, for they belonged to the highest class of ancient art, and were executed by men celebrated for their talent; the other, on account of their supposed occult qualities. The first of these qualities was gradually neglected and lost; while people set so much increasing importance on the latter quality, that they were satisfied if the figures were only sufficiently well drawn to indicate what they meant. The engraved stones executed in the later times of the Roman empire were almost entirely amulets and talismans, the works of astrologers and magicians. The art had, indeed, descended so low, that, shortly afterwards, when the empire had sunk into mediæval Europe, the beautiful intaglios dug up so frequently upon ancient sites seemed so extraordinary and inexplicable, that people believed that they were not the work of human hands, and invented all sorts of singular interpretations for them. In this all were agreed, that they were endowed with powerful and mysterious virtues, and they tried to discover these virtues through conjectural interpretations of the figures. According to these interpreta-

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tions, many of them acted as powerful cures for diseases ; others gave courage and success in battle ; others again protected from evil influences ; and the rest were similarly in possession of other good qualities. The monks and other ecclesiastics of the middle ages, believing in all these qualities, collected diligently the ancient intaglios which the plough or spade frequently turned up on Roman sites ; and many of the monastic treasuries became thus enriched with beautiful specimens of this art which have since become the pride of modern museums. And they must at one time have been in very common use even in this distant province of Roman Britain, from the frequency with which they are still found in excavations among Roman remains in all parts of the island. No doubt, considerable numbers of intaglios have in past times been found on the site of Roman Uriconium, which are carried away and soon lose all connection with the locality whence they were derived. I have collected in the accompanying plate all those which I have been able to assure myself are now known as found at Wroxeter. They are not numerous, but they are of very different styles of workmanship, and belong evidently to several periods of the history of glyptic art.

Plate 10, fig. 1, which was found in 1840, is in the possession of W. H. Oatley, Esq., of Wroxeter. It is engraved on a black stone, with a vein of pure white upon its face, and the cutting shows up a black figure. The workmanship is rather inferior.

Fig. 2 is also of inferior workmanship, and both probably are works of rather a late period. It is engraved on a bright red stone, and is here engraved from an impression in wax ; but I am not aware in whose possession the original is now to be found.

Fig. 3. This is the only engraved stone we have yet found in the course of our present excavations. It is very diminutive, but not ill executed, and the subject is full of fancy and imagination : it represents a fawn springing out of a nautilus shell. The nautilus was a favourite emblem among the ancients, and occurs not unfrequently in intaglios. A rather curious circumstance connected with this stone is, that it is set in a small ring of iron, which is not a metal frequently used for such a purpose ; but I think that I have read somewhere, in the mystical directions on

this subject, that the magical virtues of some stones are strengthened by setting them in iron rings. This intaglio with its ring, as found, may now be seen in the Museum of Wroxeter Antiquities in Shrewsbury.

Fig. 4 belonged formerly, with one or two other intaglios, to Mr. Rowlands, of Wroxeter; and a drawing of it had been preserved by Mr. Farmer Dukes, the well-known Shrewsbury antiquary. Mr. Rowlands' collection was dispersed after his death, and it was not known where they were preserved; but, a few weeks ago, Dr. Kendrick of Warrington kindly sent me an impression in gutta percha of this identical seal, as still existing in a private collection, and from this impression it is here engraved. It represents a huntsman on horseback flying from the pursuit of a lion, and is perhaps the best, certainly the most spirited, of them all in artistic execution.

Fig. 5 is a small figure of a bacchante, carrying a thyrus over her shoulder.

Fig. 6, as well as the next, is only known to me through a drawing by Mr. Farmer Dukes, from which they are engraved in a plate in the volume of the *Transactions* of the Gloucester Congress of the British Archæological Association. It represents the hippocampus, or sea-horse, an imaginary animal, of frequent occurrence on Roman monuments of all kinds and in all parts. It is by no means an unusual figure on Roman monuments found in our island.

Fig. 7. This also is rather a favourite idea among the playful subjects on Roman works of art. One Cupid, having placed an enormous tragic mask over his head or shoulders, is trying in this disguise to frighten a fellow Cupid, who appears to be somewhat taken by surprise. In an intaglio in one of the continental collections, in which the same subject is treated a little differently, the second Cupid is so frightened that he is falling over on his back.

We see at one glance that these intaglios, though few in number, are not only very diverse in subjects, but that they belong to different and distinct styles of art. They present no examples either of the best style of glyptic art, or of the worst; but they fairly represent, as far as they go, the history of that art as it was known in Roman Britain. Examples have been found in our island much superior to any of these, and many have been met with much inferior to them.

When we consider the variety of such monuments found in Britain, and the numbers,—not forgetting that the mere fact of so many being found amounts to a proof that they were in very common use,—it leads us naturally to raise the question, Was the glyptic art itself established in this distant province? It would require more space than is here allowed me to discuss this question as it ought to be discussed; but I am inclined to answer it in the affirmative, and to avow my belief that glyptography was practised in Roman Britain; as, indeed, were nearly all the arts and manufactures of the Romans. At first, no doubt, the conquerors of the island, and their companions and followers, brought with them the beautiful intaglios of their native country; and they, no doubt, continued to be imported into Britain. But examples of such fine Italian work are certainly of rare occurrence; and there is a certain character stamped on most of the engraved stones we find here, which seems to mark it as provincial art. If this were the case, the interest of these relics would be much increased, as we might read in them the history of one branch of Roman art as it was translated to Britain; and some of the examples which are found here are so extremely rude in design and execution, that we may conclude the art was practised here down to a very late period.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 56.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6.

THE Association, having selected Leicester as the place for holding the Congress of 1862, had the honour to receive a communication from T. North, Esq., Honorary Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural Society, stating their desire to hold a meeting in the county, in conjunction with the Association, the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, and the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, more especially as these societies had equally with the Association selected Bosworth Field as a principal object of attention, and hold their meeting under the same high patronage of the Lord Lieutenant of the county and the Lord Bishop of the diocese. This proposition was readily acceded to on the part of the Association, and the order of proceedings entrusted to the Local Institution. At an early hour a numerous party left Leicester, and proceeded first to Kirby Muxloe, to inspect the ruins of the castle. The date of this building is obtained from the grant by Edward IV to William Lord Hastings, April 17, 1474, by which he was licensed to erect fortifications, and was put into possession of 2,000 acres of land. Although the castle has suffered greatly from neglect, there yet remain interesting parts of the original fabric. Having made an examination of the ruins, the party reassembled to proceed to Bosworth, and first visited the church, where they were received by the Rev. N. P. Small, and of which Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., gave a description. He said the building anciently belonged to the Earls of Leicester, and the church was founded in 1316. Some parts bore out that record. The lower part of the nave was certainly what was called the decorated style, or second period in the system of pointed architecture. The arches appeared to have been constructed about the date of the origin. The roof sprang from just above those arches, and was extremely pointed. The building was dedicated to St. Peter, and he

had looked round outside for some statuettes, but had not been able to find any. Nichols gave them a view of the church as it was fifty or sixty years ago; it had undergone some recent restorations, but without having materially altered the view outside. Other particulars of the church were given, and Mr. Roberts concluded by stating that the restorations appeared to have been very fairly and properly made to retain the character which the church possessed. Thence the mansion house of Sir A. Dixie was visited, where a very miscellaneous collection of antiquities was exhibited, chiefly derived from Bosworth Field, but not requiring any particular detail. Having partaken of refreshment at the Dixie Arms, the battle-field was visited, and the Rev. Canon Trollope, M.A., F.S.A., made some remarks, pointing out the positions of the contending armies. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg proposed, and Dr. Lee, President of the Archæological Association, seconded a vote of thanks to the Rev. Canon for his address, which, having been put to the meeting by Major Wollaston, President of the Leicestershire Society, was unanimously adopted. The party then proceeded to Stoke Golding and Earl Shilton. To accommodate the large number attending the Congress, the Evening Meeting was held at the New Music Hall, where the Chair was taken by S. Viccars, Esq., the Worshipful the Mayor of Leicester.

The first paper read was by the Rev. Canon Trollope, being a minute detail of the particulars connected with Bosworth Field, which it was impossible to deliver on the spot *in extenso*. As this paper will be published by the Leicestershire Society, we forbear from printing it, and have merely to record that, upon the motion of George Vere Irving, Esq., V.P., seconded by the Rev. H. J. Hill, the thanks of the meeting were given to the Rev. Canon for his excellent discourse.

Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., in the absence of Mr. Raphael Brandon, was called upon to read a paper on St. Martin's Church, Leicester. Mr. Roberts introduced the subject by remarking that, by some misconception, Mr. Brandon had only forwarded to him slight notes for his guidance while going over the building. He had, therefore, endeavoured, though necessarily hastily, to embody these memoranda with his own observations into the form in which he proceeded to deliver the following

ACCOUNT OF ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH.

"This church is said to have been built on the site of a Roman temple, but there is no proof whatever of it as a fact unless tradition be accepted as such; but as archæologists do not deal in traditions, except as poetical adjuncts to their drier works, we must look for other confirmations of the supposition.

"It happens that in the church under consideration there is some

evidence of a Roman building pre-existing on the spot, and also of its having been appropriated to animal sacrifice, for when, some forty years ago, excavations were made for the purpose of adding masonry to strengthen the then failing central tower, large quantities of bones and horns of animals were dug out; and although we may, between the suggestions of sacrificial or domestic purposes, be on the horns of a dilemma, we may, to some extent, be relieved from that uncomfortable position by the discovery made last year when the old tower was taken down. On their digging deeper, for the purpose of making the foundations of the new tower, two bases and part of the shafts of some Roman columns were found. I am not informed whether they were *in situ*; but I have looked at them in your excellent museum, and I think I may safely say that they do not appear to be such as would be used in a slaughter-house; besides, the abattoirs would in those days be outside of the town: and it is not unlikely that tradition is somewhat near the truth when it asserts that the church was continued on the site of the former place of worship; and we know that when Christianity had so far advanced as not to require that its services should be celebrated in caves and secret places, sacred spots were used as such from age to age.

"It is probable that a Saxon church was first reared, but this can be but mere conjecture. We know, however, from Domesday Book, that there were at least two churches in Leicester at the time of the Conquest; for Hugh de Grantemaisnil was therein described as holding two churches. It will have been remarked by you that the entries in this book are by no means conclusive as to the non-existence of churches; it frequently happened that the inference of a church was to be drawn from the mention of a priest, and you also know that, constantly, where we are sure that churches existed, they are in no way described in Domesday Book.

"It is probably a well-founded belief that almost all churches which existed *prior* to the thirteenth century were built on Saxon foundations, and that there were nearly or quite as many in existence before the Conquest, as for a century after, always excluding from this statement the monastic churches, which sprang up with such marvellous grandeur and rapidity after the Conquest, they being before that period chiefly colleges of secular clergy.

"We still must deal with probabilities for a short time longer, and also in generalities; this much, however, is certain, that the *present* church is of Norman origin, and the last trace remaining of that style is to be found on the north side of the north arcade to the nave, at the eastern end. There is a portion of a Norman string showing the billet very distinctly; and necessarily part of the wall in which it is imbedded is also Norman. The tower, which was recently taken down,

was of the same date, though (Mr. Brandon says) devoid of any features of architectural interest.

"The Norman church most likely consisted of a chancel, nave, and transepts, with a tower at the intersection, and so continued until what is termed the Early English period, that is, the first stage of the system of pointed-arched architecture. It was at that time that the aisles with the necessary arcadings to the nave were added, and, subsequently (though in the same period as regards the architecture, though of a later phase of it), at about the latter half of the thirteenth century, the second aisle on the south was added. This is a peculiar feature, and deserves notice. There are but few of them in this country; and in the course of my examination of Ottery St. Mary, last year, I had occasion to make some search about them. I did not at that time know of this example, but am happy to have seen it, and to be able to add it to my list. I believe the only specimens are this of St. Martin's, Ottery St. Mary, Devon; Collumpton, Devon; Bloxham Church, Oxon; St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford; Higham Ferrars, Northamptonshire; Yelvertoft, Northamptonshire; and Yarmouth, Norfolk.¹ This and one other appear to have been unknown to Mr. Parker when he wrote his *Glossary*. Some of these are on the north side, and some on the south, this of St. Martin's being amongst the latter. The entire dimensions of the church are about 170 feet by 90 feet.

"There have been still later additions to the church, the most important being the clerestory, and the rebuilding of the chancel, which are both of the Perpendicular or latest period of Gothic. But from that time till about 1846-7 no considerable changes were made. In those years the present series of works was commenced, and consisted, strictly speaking, rather of reproductions than restorations, the latest work being the erection of a new tower of greater magnificence than anything in the town. And I may here say, what Mr. Brandon would not venture to write, that, in the true spirit of mediæval times, when he could not by any possibility preserve a structure, he adopted something entirely his own, and of such beauty and massiveness that one is tempted to say it is 'a thing of wisdom, strength, and beauty.' I am informed that, when completed, it will be about 215 feet in height. I am sorry to hear that funds are not abundant; for I think Leicester will be proud of its work when it is finished.

"In the course of our examinations of the churches on Saturday next, I shall have an opportunity of pointing out on the spot the architectural peculiarities of the church, which it would weary you to hear without having the church before you; but it may be interesting to mention one or two matters which are perhaps not purely local.

"One of our duties as archæologists is to point out any errors which

¹ *Journal of British Archæological Association*, 1862, vol. xix, p. 159.

have crept into previous writings; and I take this occasion to mention an error into which the Rev. Mr. Poole fell in his description of the church, at page 3 of your third volume of Reports. The chancel aisle, though it has much Perpendicular work about it, is of an earlier date, but was so much altered at the time the chancel was rebuilt, that it was easy to omit the discovery. I must also mention that the window mullions and tracery are nearly all modern.¹

"In the vestry and the room over it are the original twelve figures which supported the roof of the south aisle: they are worthy of a careful examination as specimens of thirteenth century work. One of the miserere, or stall-seats, is also there of the fifteenth. When the tower was commenced, a fresco of Saint Catharine was discovered on the wall; this was traced by Mr. Brandon and has been engraved.

"At the time that Nichols wrote his History there was remaining in the north transept or St. Catharine's Chapel some painted glass, in which was represented a fox preaching to some geese. A legend was under it, and was a perversion of the passage of Scripture—'God is my witness how I long for you all in the bowels of Christ.' It was written in Latin thus: 'God is my witness how I long after you in my bowels.' This, no doubt, was a satire, and satires of this kind were then very common, on the monks. Between the regular clergy or parish priests and the monks of all kinds there was perpetual antagonism, and the parish clergy were ever endeavouring to throw ridicule on, and destroy the influence of, the monks; and this is a very favourable specimen of the class. Monks are frequently represented by a monkey, and there are some paving tiles in the tower where they are thus shown, one monkey is turning a summersault, while another is drinking out of a goblet.

"In the tower some other discoveries were made; some wax candles were found in the wall, and said to be Norman. I am not able to form an opinion, for they were sent last year to the Archæological Institute at Peterborough, and have not been returned.

"A coffin-lid, rather small, was also found. It appears to be of the end of the fourteenth century. It is about twelve inches and a half wide, rather tapering, and fifty inches long, the head showing in the upper part. I have not yet completely made out the meaning of the inscription, which is very much worn, but the name of Robert Martyn is clearly visible.

"Of the roofs, there are some excellent remains of the Perpendicular period, namely, in the chancel aisle, where the Tudor flower is freely introduced both in squares and rounds, and where there are many remains of colour and gold. The chapel of St. Catharine has a somewhat similar roof.

¹ This has not been pointed out hitherto.

"Enclosing part of the organ space is a part of a fifteenth century screen, seven feet long; which probably is part of a chapel-screen.

"In the churchyard are some very admirable wood carvings to a bench, the ends of which have some interesting poppy heads intermixed with human heads. I trust these will not be destroyed.

"I must not omit to mention the wooden porch on the north, which is a unique example of wooden fan-tracery.

"From the extreme care which seems to have been bestowed on the church and its support, I feel fully persuaded that nothing will be done which will permanently injure this interesting fabric."

The thanks of the meeting were, upon the motion of the Rev. G. B. Allen, seconded by Thomas North, Esq., unanimously voted to Mr. Roberts for his communication. The remainder of the evening was appropriated to the reading, by Mr. Edward Levien, M.A., F.S.A., of his paper on the "Life and Times of Letitia, Countess of Leicester," for which, *in extenso*, see *Collectanea Archæologica*, vol. ii, pp. 42-54. Thanks having been voted to Mr. Levien, and to the Worshipful the Mayor for his attendance, the meeting adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

From Leicester the members of the Association and their visitors took their departure by train to Ashby, where, under the able guidance of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., the castle and church were examined.

The castle was stated to have been built by William Lord Hastings, who obtained a license from Edward IV, in 1474, to empark land and build castles at Ashby, Kirby, and Bagworth. It was subsequently possessed by Henry Earl of Huntingdon, whose household expenditure in 1601 here was £2,855. He maintained a long train of servants. The more interesting part of the ruins, the chapel, prospect tower, etc., were examined, and afterwards the church. Here attraction was principally engaged with the fine monuments of the Huntingdon family, especially that of the palmer in the north aisle. A finger pillory, for the punishment of those misbehaving in church, also excited curiosity. The church was stated to have been erected about the same period as the castle.

A visit was then made to Staunton Harold, the seat of the Earl Ferrers, where the church was thrown open for inspection by the Countess, and the party most courteously received by Lord Edward Chichester, and conducted over the building by the Rev. John Denton, the family chaplain. The church attached to the hall was visited. This is known to have been erected as recorded in a marble tablet over

the west door by Sir Robert Shirley, "who did the best things in the worst of times and hoped them in the most calamitous." Mr. Roberts briefly described it, and commented upon the mixture of styles found in it as characteristic of the period when it was erected. The fine marble monument of Lord Tamworth, who died, aged twenty-two, of small pox, in 1714, attracted much attention, as did the curious painted ceiling of the church. Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart., V.P. of the Association, expressed, on the part of the members, to Lord E. Chichester, their thanks for his obliging attention, and the party proceeded to Breedon, ascended the hill, inspected the church, and were hospitably refreshed by Mr. and Mrs. Bostock. Mr. R. N. Phillips described it to be on the site of a priory, founded by Robert Ferrers, Earl of Nottingham, in 1144, in dependence upon Nostell priory in Yorkshire. At the dissolution of monastic houses it was granted in 1529 to Sir Henry Shirley, who lived at Staunton, and intended it as a burial-place for his family. The parishioners of Breedon, owing to their church being dilapidated, prayed to have the use of this building, and in consequence the church was erected. The fine monuments of the Ferrers family were inspected.

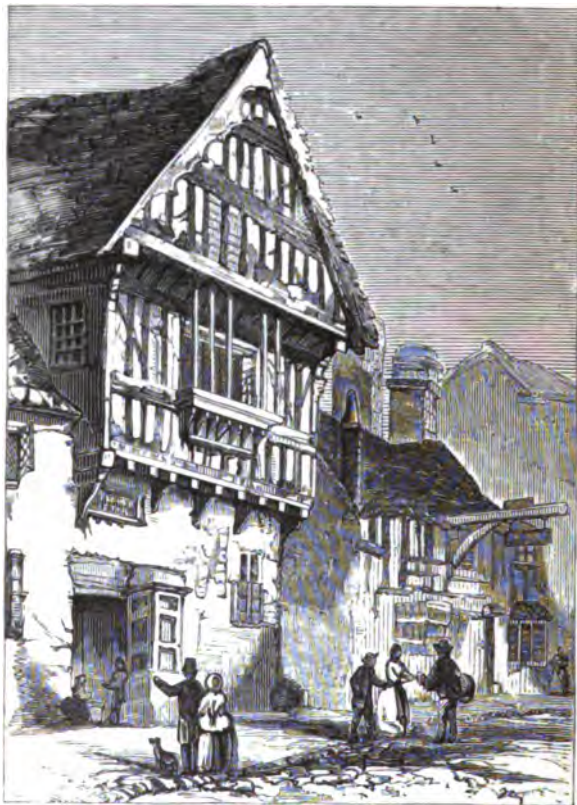
Leaving Breedon the Association proceeded to Castle Donington, and, being joined by Dr. Wilson Pearson, took their way through the park to the house, where the two portraits of Richard III, and those also of Edward IV and the Duke of Clarence, together with many ancient armorial coats in stained glass, were deservedly admired. At Castle Donington the Association were elegantly entertained by Marcus Huish, Esq., and his kindness acknowledged by Sir Charles Rouse Boughton. Time pressed sorely upon the visitors, and to reach the train in time rendered the visit too hurried for minute examination. The Evening Meeting was held at the Guildhall. Mr. Goddard being unwell, the following paper was read by Mr. Thompson, Hon. Local Secretary :

KING RICHARD'S HOUSE.

"Among the architectural relics of Leicester, now no more, was standing some years ago an old building, which was popularly called 'King Richard's House.' It was known to have been part of the Old Blue Boar, as at the commencement of the last century it was used as an inn, and known by that sign, though originally it bore the sign of the White Boar, the cognizance of King Richard III, but after his defeat, this sign was torn down by the infuriated populace, and the owner or landlord of the hostelry compelled to change its title.

"Popular tradition has always identified the building with the ill-fated monarch, and the inquiries of local antiquaries confirm the tradition. It was taken down in the month of March, 1836; but fortunately, before its destruction, a drawing was made of the front, by the





KING RICHARD THE THIRD'S HOUSE.

Known as the Old Blue Boar, and as it appeared thirty years ago.

late Mr. Flower, artist, which has been copied in many shapes, in Architectural works, and various publications, with which the reading public are familiar. I also visited the spot before the demolition was effected, and took the dimensions of every portion of the building, for the purpose of making a correct drawing, representing it as complete as when first erected.¹ The results I have pleasure in laying before the Archæological Congress.

“The part of the original structure then remaining, had apparently been one wing of the inn, as it stood when first built. It was of two stories. The first was about twenty-five feet wide, and thirty-seven feet high, to the apex of the gable. It was a half timbered house of oak, the interstices filled in with plaster. The foundations to a certain height above the level of the ground, were composed of stone and brick. The lower story was one large room, about forty-one feet long, and twenty-four feet wide, within. The external part in front, was covered over in great part, with a brick wall, on the removal of which, the original timbers of the windows were exposed. There were two wide windows of three lights each, divided by wooden uprights, forming the framework, coved on the front edges, and grooved to receive the lead lights. These principal timbers were placed upon blocks of granite, to prevent the damp from rising and decaying them, and were as perfect, as when first erected. Originally, there was no doorway, although in the drawing by Mr. Flower, one is represented; but this was cut out of the woodwork to allow admission to the interior, then used as a wool-room. In this apartment were traces of an original window of four lights, of similar character to that already described, in the south wall, near the western extremity, looking in the rear of what I suppose was once the main building. In addition to the window, there was a door near to it, which had evidently communicated with a corridor passage in the rear of the main building. On the north side of the lower story was a fireplace, having stone jambs moulded, and a moulded projection over the mantel. The second floor overhung the lower story, the ends of the floor timbers being shown, and the principal ones supported by brackets. The beam lying over these ends was moulded and embattled. The principal feature was, however, a projecting window of five lights, with moulded mullions, and tracery of the perpendicular period. This window was supported by brackets. Above this was a second projection, with an embattled tie beam and moulding, to sustain a gable, having an ornamental large board, cusped and otherwise, sunk and moulded. In the interior, the second story was much like the lower one. The floor was of brick. It had a fireplace similar to the one below, with the exception that it had three courses of brickwork

¹ By the kindness of Mr. Goddard and Mr. Thompson, we are enabled to present to our readers a representation of this interesting building as it appeared at that date. (See plate 11.)

between the plinth of stone jambs, and the floor, which was no doubt intended to act as a hearth or fender, to protect the floor timbers from fire.

"The room was open to the ridge, the construction of the roof being still visible. The whole of the timbers were framed and pinned together with oak pins. Not a nail, nor piece of iron of any description was used in connection with the building, but the timbers were framed and scarfed together in the most ingenious manner. All the principal beams and other parts, were decorated with painted scroll work in black, red and yellow, and of simple design. In addition to the window looking upon the street, there was another, like that in the lower story already described.

"The entrance was by a door entering from a gallery also like that below. The door was of a rude description, ledged and composed of three boards, cleft, not planed, lapping one over the other, and was fastened by a wooden latch, moved through a finger hole cut in the door, and by a bolt of wood below the latch. The roof was covered with strong Swithland slates.

"Having described what actually remained, I now venture to conjecture what was the main plan of the entire building, as it appeared to the inhabitants when Richard the third took up his lodgings in it, as the principal hostelry in Leicester:—

"It seems to me that the structure had two wings and a centre; the building I have spoken of being the northern wing. The centre probably receded from the street four or five yards. In the middle, was perhaps another gable, with wide gateway below, admitting to the rear of the premises and to the passages behind the front rooms. This supposition is at variance with the picture; but as the latter was drawn to show the buildings which surrounded it when the drawing was taken, and not as they presented themselves originally, it must be so regarded. Like the old inns in the metropolis, the Blue Boar had probably open galleries behind, approached by outside staircases and communicating with the several chambers. As the principal apartments were in the wings, and they were spacious, there is no reason why the upper room of the northern wing was not the sleeping room allotted to distinguished travellers, and therefore to Richard the Third, when he slept in Leicester."

Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., was then called upon to read a paper "On an Early Manuscript in the Muniment Room in the Guildhall, Leicester," which is printed in the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, vol. ii, pp. 55-64. Thanks were voted to Mr. Wright for his most able and interesting paper, after which the President invited Mr. J. Thompson to read his paper "On the History of the County of Leicester before the Norman Conquest." As this will form a portion of a complete History to be published by Mr. Thompson, we must confine ourselves

to reporting that the author, in the course of his observations, remarked upon the fading away of the Roman influence in this locality (as he regarded it) in the abandonment of the Roman name of Leices-ter [*Ratæ*] and the substitution of the Saxon name *Ligora-ceaster*.

Mr. T. Wright offered some remarks on this head. He said that probably at all times Roman towns in the provinces were often (if not generally) known by an official Roman name to their inhabitants, and to the Romans in general, and by other names to the inhabitants of the districts around. This was early the case in Gaul, where the population appear to have spoken of the principal Roman towns by the name of the tribes in whose districts they were situated. Thus, to take a well-known example, the great city we now call Paris was called by the Romans *Lutetice*; but the inhabitants of the surrounding districts still called it the *civitas Parisiorum*, or city or town of the Parisii, the tribe to whom this territory had belonged when it was taken possession of by the Romans. The Franks, when they conquered this part of the Roman territory, appear to have taken the name from the rural population, and not from the Romans; and it is more than probable that both continued to exist until the name of *Lutetiæ* became obsolete, and the other took its place. This was the case also in Britain; and we might quote two or three curious cases proving not only the continuance at the same time of the Roman and Anglo-Saxon name of the town long after the Anglo-Saxons had established themselves in our island, but that the inhabitants continued still to talk Latin. Thus, Carlisle was called by the Romans *Legiolium*, and this is the name which it certainly bore at the close of the Roman power here, towards the middle of the fifth century. Now Bede, who lived in the earlier part of the eighth century, more than two hundred and fifty years afterwards, still speaks of Carlisle as *Legiolium*, adding that the Anglian population of the northern districts had corrupted the name into *Luel*. We can only identify a Roman town with a modern town by a deduction from its situation in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or some such document, compared with the circumstances of the locality; but it is not at all likely that Bede ever saw such a document as the Itinerary of Antoninus, and if he had seen it, he did not possess the antiquarian knowledge to make such deductions. Bede, therefore, can only have known the name from the townsmen themselves, and it must have continued to exist among them. Why the country people added *caer* instead of *ceaster* (or *chester*) to the name, Mr. Wright would not on this occasion attempt to explain; but as the Roman blood and character of the citizens became more and more mixed and diluted, the name of *Legiolium* was forgotten, and the country name of *Caer-luel*, or Carlisle, took its place. So in the case of the town in which we are now assembled, the Roman name of *Ratæ* continued, in all probability, to exist among the towns-

men long after the Anglo-Saxons had obtained possession of the land ; but this latter people, who at first probably had little intercourse with the inhabitants of the town, called it simply *Ligora-Ceaster*, the city on the river *Ligora*. The existence in such a manner of two names for the same place is an inconvenience which gradually corrects itself ; and as the old Roman population of the town became more and more Saxonized, the name of *Rata* became obsolete, and the name given to the town by the Anglo-Saxons, and which has been corrupted into Leicester, came into general use both among townsmen and countrymen. This change in the names of the towns was going on during a long period, of which we have no historical record.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Thompson for his paper, the meeting closed with the reading of the following, by Clarence Hopper, Esq., the Palæographer of the Association.

ON THE GUILDS OF LEICESTER.

“The term *guild* is derived from the Saxon word *gildan*, to pay, because every one of the fraternity had to contribute something towards the charge of his company. Nothing is known absolutely as to the date of guilds being established in England, but it is certain that they were in use long before any formal license was given for the establishment of such associations.

“There existed an old law among the Saxons, that every freeman of the age of fourteen should find sureties to keep the peace ; and this led to the formation of an association of ten families, who became mutually bound for each other. For the better arrangement of this they raised money, which they deposited in a common fund ; so that if one of their fraternity committed an offence and fled the country, satisfaction was made out of the common stock.

“Some few particulars relative to these bodies corporate may be gleaned from our public records as to the date of their erection, etc. ; as for instance, in the 14th of Edward III, there was license to the men of Coventry to erect a merchant guild of brethren and sisters, with a warden, that they might found chantries, bestow alms, or perform other acts of piety and charity.

“In Henry the Fourth’s time was granted a license to form a guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon. But those to which we will now direct attention will be such as are connected with the town of Leicester. Of these Nichols, in his *History of Leicester*, has mentioned several, viz. :—In the church of St. Mary de Castro, a *guild of the Holy Trinity*, founded by Sir Richard Sacheverel and the good Lady Hungerford ; the *guild of St. John* (belonging to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist), which was founded in the year 1478 by Peere Cellar and his wife ; the *guild of St. Margaret*, founded by King

Richard the Second, and those of *Corpus Christi* and *St. George*, which last two were attached to the church of *St. Martin* of Leicester.

“Of these, *Corpus Christi* seems to have been the principal, and according to the authority above mentioned, contributed largely to the public charges, *e. g.*, in the purchase of charters, etc.; and the masters of it had great interest in the government of the town, having power, with the mayor, to levy penalties upon the mayor’s brethren for their misdemeanours; and, upon the mayor’s neglect, empowered to levy upon *him*. That of *St. Margaret’s* was also rich, and used to join with *Corpus Christi* in defraying the public charges.

“It will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to exhibit in detail the rules and regulations of one of these religious communities of Leicester, particulars of which are preserved among some certificates of guilds to be found among the *Miscellanea* of the Tower, and the tenor of which in the original runs as follows:—

“‘In the name of God omnipotent and the blessed Mary, his mother, and in honour of *St. Margaret* and *St. Katherine*, this society is founded, in the 29th year of King Edward III, and by the same society thirteen founders are ordained, and out of the said founders there shall be two superiors to rule and regulate the whole society. The founder, moreover, together with the whole association, appointed two priests for the celebrating divine service in the church of the blessed *Margaret* of Leicester, at the altar of the blessed Mary and Saints *Margaret* and *Katherine*, for all the brethren and sisters and their benefactors. Also they ordained the aforesaid brethren and sisters, that twice a year they should meet, upon the feasts of *St. Margaret* and *St. Katherine*, to hear high mass and likewise make offering; and at the feast aforesaid of *St. Margaret* all of the society who were willing and able should moreover put on their habits and eat together, and on the morrow should meet for reckoning and discharging the expense.

“‘Also it is ordained that if any one of the brethren or sisters die within the town of Leicester, he should have a hearse with torches in the church of the same parish wherein he may die, and that all the brethren and sisters should be present at his obsequies, and on the morrow at mass if they should be forewarned by the superiors.

“‘Also it is ordained that none of the brotherhood shall receive or make any brother or sister without the consent of the founders and superiors in the entire association of brethren.

“‘Also if any brother or sister shall be in poverty by reason of sickness, or by robbers, or through false men, or by fire, or by water, he shall have the assistance of the association.

“‘Also if any one of the founders should die, the other founders shall ordain a new founder to fill up the number. Also it is ordained

that one priest shall celebrate a morning mass, and another at noon, by ordinance of the founders and superiors of the association.

“Also if any brother or sister should die within the space of twelve leagues around the city of Leicester, his *confrères* shall bring him or her to the town of Leicester with torches, and he shall have a mass and a hearse in the aforesaid church of St. Margaret.’

“Another of these fraternities, that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of All Saints, Leicester, appears to have been framed upon a similar foundation. This guild was founded by Henry Peter Robert Pontrel, William Edelyn, and seventeen others, who, seeing that in the church aforesaid (with the exception of the vicar) there were no chaplains, agreed among themselves, by a subscription of one penny each every Sunday, to raise a fund for the purpose of purchasing one vestment, one chalice, one missal, and other ornaments for the altar. These being obtained, and others having entered into the society, their numbers increased until they could support a chaplain, and afterwards their means extended to a provision for two chaplains.

“The same regulation for supporting the sick brethren, or such as were impoverished through any accident or misfortune, out of the means of the community, occurs as in the rules of the guild before stated.

“The brotherhood, moreover, were enjoined to assist at the obsequies of any one of their number who should die within the town, every one contributing the sum of one penny, the proceeds of which were to be bestowed upon the poor. Should his decease occur without the town, then his obit was celebrated within three days from his decease, with a contribution, etc.

“Finding, however, that there was a negligence in keeping up these contributions, and the burden beginning to press heavily upon the rest, each one was sworn to pay according to his ability, and they appointed two of their number to act as collectors. Afterwards, some few, combining together, bought tenements, the rents of which were assigned to the collectors for their contributions to the society, the remainder continuing their ordinary subscription.

“The feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin was their great festival, on which day they met and dined together, and appointed the day following for the purpose of paying the reckoning, the salary of the chaplain, and the relief of the poor, according to a rate made out by the collector.

“Such were the principal regulations of these fraternities, which, however fully and efficiently they may have answered the requirements of the time in which they flourished, appear now (if divested of the religious bond which connected them) to present features little beyond

those of a modern benefit society. And with the dissolution of chantries and other monastic institutions they fell with the Reformation."

Mr. T. Wright remarked that the writer of this paper had raised a question as to the origin of Guilds, which was a very obscure one, and not likely to be definitely cleared up. His own opinion was, that the Guilds in the mediæval towns were derived from the municipal system of the Romans. We know that such Guilds existed in the Roman towns, and with much the same objects. All peoples at all times have placed great importance in the ceremonies attending the interment of the dead; and the process of burial among the Romans was one of great expense, which could be met by families which were wealthy, but it must have been very onerous, falling all at once, on men of limited means; to avoid the inconvenience of which they clubbed together, in a spirit which exists in the same degree in modern times, so that the expense on each occasion, instead of falling upon one, was distributed among the members of the club. This was the great object of the Roman Guild, and the second seems to have been drinking and sociality. People clubbed together to be merry while alive and to be buried when dead. The principal, or at least the original, objects of the Anglo-Saxon club were conviviality and providing for the honourable burial of the dead. Even before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, their burials, from what we know of their forms, must have entailed great expense; and, after they became Christians, new considerations entered into the feelings connected with death and burials which did not tend to lessen the expenses. While they still remained attached to their old customs in burial, they were now taught the duty of investing money in the foundation of obits, or perpetual prayers for the dead; and this was the first and grand object of the mediæval Guilds, and, being looked upon as a superstitious usage, was the cause of their dissolution after the Reformation. Of course, in the successive changes in society, they embraced from time to time other objects, such as providing for the education of the children of members, or even for those of the townspeople generally; but the two grand objects of the Roman, Saxon, or Mediæval Guilds seem to have been alike the respectable burial of their deceased members and the promoting of convivial intercourse. The legal view of the history of Guilds gave a very erroneous notion of their antiquity or character.

With thanks to the author of the paper on the Guilds and to the President, the meeting adjourned.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

FEBRUARY 25.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

THANKS were voted for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Archæologia Cambrensis for January. 8vo.
 " " Constitution of the Numismatic Society of Montreal.
 Montreal, 1863. 12mo.
To the Author. Notes on Coins. By S. C. Bagg. Montreal, 1863. 12mo.

Mr. J. Moore exhibited some pieces of British horse-furniture, with the following notice of their discovery at Ham Hill, Somersetshire :

"I was riding across the Hill early in the year 1823, and saw a crowd of persons attracted to the spot. On the ground were seven or eight crania, all perfect. I took them up to examine; and in the upper jaw of one, just below the orbit of the eye, I found a fragment of wood projecting about an inch and a half. I could not draw it out; but I saw it was attached to the iron head of an arrow, which probably had been the cause of the warrior's death. It struck me that this skull was the chieftain's; the others, those of men belonging to him, slaves or dependents. These remains were exhumed from what is locally called a 'gully,' i.e., a crevice or separation of the rocks; and if I remember right, the bodies were deposited with their arms above their heads. And it is worth mention that over this gully there was an additional vallum or rampart of earth added to the works already erected for the defence of the place; consequently this additional defence was made after the interment of the warriors, and proves how ancient that interment must have been. I obtained the molar tooth of a horse, and saw several chariot-wheels made of one entire piece of iron. There were many other things found, domestic and personal articles in silver, bronze, etc.; but having little influence, I could secure but few relics. The late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., sent to the Society of Antiquaries an account of the discoveries, which was read May 15, 1823.¹

¹ See *Archæologia*, xxi, 39.

His statements are correct; but as to some objects similar to those now exhibited, he said he was at a loss to account."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that "these objects were evidently portions of horse-furniture, of the same age as the relics obtained at Polden Hill, some few miles from Hamden Hill. Three of the tubular rings belonged to snaffle-bits of a like character and of the same era as those from Lincolnshire, engraved in this *Journal* (xv, 227); one of them being stamped with a device which may be aptly termed the 'Celtic scroll,' from its frequent presence on objects of the bronze period found in this country and Ireland. The hollow ring, two inches and one-eighth diameter, was employed in harness; and a nearly similar ring in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, has three semicircular staples looped on to it, and is believed to have united the *tiarach* or breeching of the steed. In the grave of the British charioteer opened at Arras, E.R. York, were found the iron tire and bronze-plated washer of the nave of the car-wheel;¹ and one of the articles now sent, seems to be the broad covering of the washer of a like wheel. It is a boss which, before it had suffered lateral compression, must have measured about three inches diameter; the centre depressed, and having an opening full one inch diameter, to permit the axle to pass through. These several objects are composed of fine, compact sheet bronze of a somewhat golden hue, and are wrought with all that peculiar neatness and precision so characteristic of the horse-furniture of the Britannic chieftains."

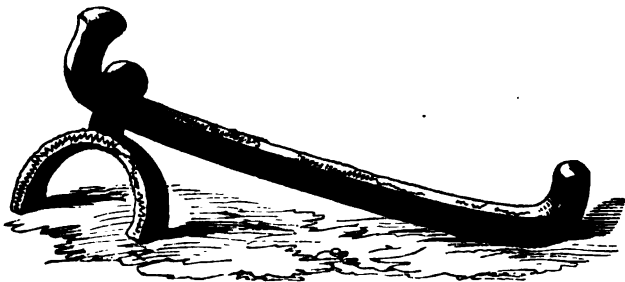
Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following communication:—

ON ANCIENT BRAND-IRONS.

"During the past session we were enabled through the kindness of Mr. Brent, to lay before the Association the brick-work of a Roman *focus*, or fire hearth, and remains of an iron *tripus*, or tripod, etc., discovered near Canterbury; and Dr. Kendrick now favours us with the sight of another piece of ancient hearth furniture, namely, one of a pair of brand-irons or fire-dogs exhumed at Wilderspool, near Warrington, the reputed site of the CONDATE of the 2nd and 10th Iters of Antoninus, a locality rich in Roman relics, many of which have already come before our notice. The rare object now exhibited (see woodcut) consists of a stout iron bar about 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with the extremities bent up and thickened, to prevent the billets of wood falling off. One end rested on the hearth, the other is elevated about 6 inches on a strong arched foot, the stem of which passes through the bar, terminating above in a powerful ring, thus permitting it to be moved as a swivel. The purpose of this was to allow the foot to be turned flat with the bar, for the greater convenience of package when

¹ See York Volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 29.

troops were on their march, or household goods *in transitu*. The circumstances under which this curious Roman brand-iron was brought to



light are thus detailed by Dr. Kendrick:—‘It lay in a conical hole, about one foot below the surface of the ground, the hole being also full of burnt earth and cinders. There were no fragments of bones or pottery, nor of charcoal, as in most of the holes, of which there are so many on the site, but about five feet from it was an oblong ‘grave,’ 3 feet in length by 1 foot in breadth, and 14 inches deep, in which the fragments of burnt human bones and of an urn were found. This Wilderspool relic may be compared with a brand-iron engraved in Rich’s *Companion to the Latin Dictionary* (s. v. *Vara*), which was found in a tomb at Pæstum. The latter is formed of a bar of iron, bent at the extremities and supported at the ends by arched feet. These *varæ* from Lancashire and Italy are more simple in construction and less ornate in character than two examples engraved in Mr. Roach Smith’s *Collectanea Antiqua* (11), which consist of horizontal bars supported on arched feet, and with tall uprights or standards at the ends, each surmounted by an ox’s head, between whose horns was placed a transverse rod for the suspension of the vessel for boiling, or else the *vera* for roasting meat. One of these brand-irons was discovered at Stanford Bury, Bedfordshire, in 1832, the other at Mount Bures, Colchester, in 1849.

“Such objects as the above were termed *Brigion* and *Gobed* in the Cymraeg tongue; and we have pictorial evidence that they continued in use throughout the middle ages, and are frequently mentioned in the old inventories under such names as cobirons, brandirons, hand-irons, aundirons, andirons, andogs, fire-dogs, etc. But though we have incontestable proofs of their employment in early times, few existing examples appear to date further back than the close of the fifteenth century; and it is not until we arrive at the sixteenth that they are at all common. In the fifth volume of this *Journal* (p. 391) are given eight examples of brand-irons of Sussex manufacture, the earliest being of the time of Henry VII or VIII, the latest of the middle of the seventeenth century; and it is curious to observe that the arched form of the foot is preserved in all the specimens: and in

the thirteenth vol. of the *Journal* (p. 37, pl. 10, figs. 5, 6), in a paper by Mr. Pettigrew, is a representation of a brand-iron in the hall of the Vicars' Close at Wells, the standards of which are surmounted by rams' heads, just as those of the Roman *varæ* terminate in the heads of bulls.

"The standards of the old brand-irons frequently displayed much taste in design and richness of decoration. The late Mr. L. N. Cottingham had a very fine pair of enamelled fire-dogs, stated to have once belonged to Sir Thomas More; and in the 'Circular Drawing-room' at Strawberry Hill were a pair formed of elegantly chased silver, the work of an artist of no mean talent. . . Shakespeare, in *Cymbeline* (ii, 4), makes Iachimo describe the andirons in Imogen's chamber as 'two winking Cupids of silver, each on one foot standing, nicely depending on their brands;' and the dramatist had doubtlessly seen such effigies surmounting the standards in some mansion he had visited. There is yet preserved at Knowle Park, Kent, a pair of silver fire-dogs with elegantly wrought standards, surmounted by amorini, which if they be not identical with those in Imogen's chamber, are still curious illustrations of the above cited passage.

"A leading feature in the works of the Renaissance is the free introduction of heathen deities. In the Soulages Collection is a pair of Italian *alare* or fire-dogs, of the time of Elizabeth, wrought of bronze, among the rich ornaments on which are amorini supporting a vase, on which stands an amorino; and on another pair are displayed satyrs, amorini, etc., with one standard crowned by a statuette of Venus, the other by Adonis. These fire-dogs bear the arms of the noble Venetian family of Barberigo, and are considered the finest examples in existence. At the South Kensington Museum may also be seen a third pair of Italian *alare*, which are of special interest as they bear the maker's name—'JOSEPHO : DI : LEVI : IN : VERONA : MI : FECE.'

"We read in an Inventory of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, dated 1603—'Item, two payer of andyorones, wth heads and fore parts of copper; one payer being lesse than the other:'" and we have previously seen that *bronze* and *silver* were at times used in their construction; still, *unmixed iron* was almost constantly employed for fire-dogs from the Roman era down to the close of the seventeenth century, when their manufacture seems to have ceased, though they still hold their place upon the hearth in the old baronial hall and stately mansion of the great, the sturdy mementos of bygone days, when the blazing log cast its bright and cheerful glare around, and sea-coal fires were heavily denounced as noxious and health-destroying pests."

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., made the following communication:—

"I beg to forward to the Association a brief account of an urn found in October last on the highest point of Bembridge Down, near Sandown,

¹ Gage's *Hist. of Hengrave*, p. 27.

in the Isle of Wight, near the spot where stood the monument of the late Earl of Yarborough, which has been recently removed to the brink of Culver Cliff to make way for a fortification called the 'Citadel' now erecting by the government. My attention was drawn to the discovery of the urn by Charles Cramer, Esq., one of the vice-presidents of the Isle of Wight Philosophical and Scientific Society, who afforded me an opportunity of inspecting it, and furnished me with the information that could be obtained concerning it. The barrow in which it was originally placed was probably levelled on the erection of the Yarborough monument, as various other barrows still remain on the Down. The urn is eight inches high, and five inches and a half in diameter at the rim. The diameter about the centre is an inch and a half or two inches greater than the rim. The diameter of the base is a little above two inches. The clay was imperfectly baked, and was about the third of an inch in the thickest part. The pattern of the lines on it would seem to indicate that the urn was of the late Celtic period. The pattern somewhat resembles that of the urn depicted on plate 20 (No. 6) of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. It also bears some resemblance to figure 6 on plate 11 of Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*. Near to the urn were found some bones very much decayed, and the skull all to pieces. There do not appear to have been in the urn any remains of ashes. It would have held about three quarts. The urn is in the possession of Lieut.-Col. Baillie, who kindly afforded me facility for investigation. It is fractured into thirteen pieces (four of them large); but it is hoped it will be reunited and ultimately placed in the Museum at Ryde. It may be mentioned that at a short distance from the spot where the urn was found, on the other side of the fortification, were found in January last two skeletons, lying head to foot about a foot beneath the sod, which, like the urn, were probably once covered by a mound. These, on their discovery, were visited by C. Cramer, Esq., who describes one of the skeletons as that of a man of about six feet, and the other that of a woman. The man was deposited with his head to the east, the bones of his right extremity being beneath those of the legs of the woman, who is laid with her head to the west, her arm falling over the man's legs. The skeletons may perhaps have been long preserved, from having been deposited in chalk. The man was evidently placed in the ground before the woman.

"As it is desirable in the *Journal* of an Association which has devoted so much attention to the barrows of the Isle of Wight to record all the excavations of the tumuli that have taken place, I take this opportunity of mentioning two excavations at the west end of Arretori Down, undertaken by Dr. Wilkins and myself in June 1853, which have never yet been publicly recorded. These barrows were in the immediate neighbourhood of the barrow explored by Thomas Cooke,

Esq., and the members of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Antiquities Society, in 1815,¹ and of another barrow opened by the Commissioners of Turnpikes, and described by Mr. Cooke at p. 456 of vol. vi of the *Journal* of the Association. The barrows we examined appear to be the barrows mentioned by him in the closing paragraph of his narrative. We found the first of the barrows there referred to had been previously rifled or disturbed, but we discovered in it portions of a British urn, some charcoal, and horses' teeth. The urn was slightly baked, similar to pottery made at the Romano-British Pottery at Barnes, Isle of Wight, discovered in 1856.² The relics found in the barrow have been deposited in the Isle of Wight Museum at Newport. The other barrow, to the eastward of this, although carefully examined, proved barren. It constituted the fourth of the barrows on Arreton Down, accounts of whose examinations have been transmitted to the British Archæological Association."

In a discussion which followed the reading of the preceding paper, Mr. T. Wright expressed his opinion that the discovery should be assigned to the Anglo-Saxon period. The urn and the manner of burial belong to the ante-Christian times of the Anglo-Saxons, when family interments were made. The burial of several members of an Anglo-Saxon family, apparently at the same time, was not uncommon. He had seen in the Isle of Thanet three skeletons, whose arms were linked together, and were apparently those of a man, his wife and child.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper on "Ancient Nielli," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

MARCH 11.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

E. S. C. Pole, Esq., of Radbourne Hall, Derby, was elected an associate.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., transmitted for inspection several bracteates in silver, kindly presented to him by their associate, Mrs. Kerr, and obtained by her during a visit to Germany in 1862. They will form the subject of a paper, with illustrations, in a future *Journal*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, Hon. Sec., also exhibited five small bracteates, and favoured the Association with remarks on these rare coins, which will appear along with the description of those exhibited by Mr. Pettigrew.

Mr. Roberts, on the part of Mr. G. Becke, exhibited a bone haft of a knife carved with figures of Adam and Eve standing on each side of the Tree of Knowledge, round the stem of which the serpent coils its length. Eve offers her husband the forbidden fruit with her left hand, and raises the right to pluck another from the overshadowing boughs. This haft, which is of the end of the sixteenth century, was purchased about twenty years since at Homburgh.

¹ See vol. v, p. 365, *Brit. Archæol. Journal*.

² See vol. xi, *ibid*.

MARCH 25.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

The Chairman (for the time being) of the Library Committee
of the Corporation of London.

J. H. Challis, Esq., 35 St. James's Place.

Thanks were given for the following presents

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 54. 1863. 8vo.

" " Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Vol. iv. Part I. Edinburgh, 1862. 4to.

" " Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and
Cheshire. New Series. Vol. ii. Liverpool, 1862. 8vo.

" " Journal of the Canadian Institute. No. 43. Toronto,
1863.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for March 1863: 8vo.

" " The Sculptors' Journal. No. 3. London, 1863. 8vo.

The Chairman laid before the Association the following charter giving to the prior and convent of Newstead the manor of Northmuskham, Notts, anno 15 Edward III (22nd October, 1341). The seals are unfortunately wanting :

" Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Henricus de Edenestowe et Robertus de Edenestowe, fratres et clerici, de licencia serenissimi principis domini Edwardi Dei gratia Regis Anglie illustris a conquestu tercii, et dominorum mediorumque dedimus, concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus, religiosis viris Priori et Conventu de Novo Loco in Shirewod, totum manerium nostrum de Northmuskham in comitu Nottingham, cum omnibus et singulis pertinentiis suis, ut in mesuagiis, toftis, croftis, cortagiis, terris arabilibus, aquis, pratis, vastis, pascuis, pasturis, villanis, cum omnibus sequelis, terris, et catallis suis, redditibus, servitiis, et consuetudinibus eorundem villanorum, redditibus et serviciis libere tenencium, cum scutagiis, homagiis, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, escaetis, sectis curiarum, et fidelitatibus eorundem libere tenencium, cum reversionibus terrarum et tenementorum in feodo talliato, seu ad terminum vite, vel annorum dimissorum, cum redditibus et serviciis inde exeuntibus, una cum libertatibus ad idem manerium quoquo modo spectantibus, et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis, ut in dominicis et dominis sine aliquo penitus retenemento, ad sustentationem duorum capellanorum perpetuorum divina singulis diebus in ecclesia Beate Marie de Edenestowe celebrantium imperpetuum, et ad obitum mei Henrici et alia pia opera facienda juxta certam nostram ordinacionem inde per nos fac-

tam seu faciendam, habendum et tenendum totum manerium predictum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, ut predictum est, prefatis priori et conventui et eorum successoribus imperpetuum, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita et consueta. Et solvend' dictis capellanis perpetuis, et eorum successoribus capellanis, undecim marcas singulis annis imperpetuum ad festa Sancti Martini in Yeme, Annunciationis Beate Marie Pentecostes, et Assumpcionis ejusdem Virginis, per equales porciones, videlicet decem marcas, pro eorundem capellanorum sustentatione, stipendiis, et omnibus aliis oneribus capellanis et cantariis eorum incumbenibus, et residuos tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios pro obitu et aliis piis operibus faciendis juxta ordinationem supradictam. Et nos predicti Henricus et Robertus, et heredes mei Henrici, totum predictum manerium de Northmuskham, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis predictis et aliis quibuscunque prefatis, Priori et Conventui et eorum successoribus premissa facturi, contra omnes homines in forma predicta warantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic carte indentate dicti Prior et Conventus sigillum suum commune, et nos dicti Henricus et Robertus sigilla nostra, alternatim apposuimus. Hiis testibus, dominis Adam de Everyngham domino de Laxton, Thoma de Lungcuillers, Thoma de Dekering, militibus, Roberto de Calveton, Roberto Scuffyn, Hugone de Normanton, et aliis. Datum apud Northmuskham, die lune proxima post festum Sancti Luce Evangeliste anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo primo, et anno regni dicti domini Edwardi Regis Anglie illustris tercii a conquestu quintodecimo.

In dorso.—"Carta prima seysine nostre de manerio de Northmuskham, cujus tenor non est sufficiens, nec concordat cum aliis ordinationibus et conventionibus inter partes."

George Wentworth, Esq., of Woolley Park, Wakefield, laid before the Association pleadings in an action at Nisi Prius, 31st Edward III (1357-8), *in re* Joan Voy, widow of John Voy of Pontefract, *versus* Sir Peter de Mauley of Doncaster, Knt.:

"Peter de Mauley, third baron, summoned to parliament from 20 September 1355, to 7 January 1383. This nobleman, in the 30th Edward III, shared in the glorious victory of Poitiers; and in three years afterwards he was in the expedition then made in Gascony. In the forty-first of the same reign he was joined in commission with the Bishop of Durham, Henry Lord Percy, and others, for guarding the marches of Scotland; and again, in the 3rd of Richard II, with the Earl of Northumberland. His lordship married, first, in the 31st of Edward III, Elizabeth, widow of John Lord Darcy, and daughter and heir of Nicholas Lord Mosnill, without license; for which offence he paid a fine of £100, and obtained pardon. He espoused, secondly, Constance, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas de Sutton, in Holderness, and had issue (by which wife not known),—Peter, who married Mar-

gery, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas de Sutton, Knt., and, dying in the lifetime of his father, left issue,—Peter, successor to his grandfather; Constance, married first to William Fairfax (by whom she had no issue), and secondly to Sir John Bigot; Elizabeth, married to George Salven. His lordship died in 1383, seized of the manor and castle of Mulgrave, the manor of Doncaster, and a moiety of the manor of Hecagh in Yorkshire.—Arms, *or a bend sa.*”

Sir Peter de Maulay was lord of Doncaster. Hugh de Wombwell, here mentioned, was son of Henry de Wombwell, and married Jane, daughter of John Lowell of Wombwell. He is called in the deed, attorney of Joan Voy.

“Placita apud Westmonasterium coram R[ogero] Hill[ary] de termino pasche anno regni regis Edwardi III xxi et regni sui Francie xviii [1357-8]. Rotulo cxiii. Ebor’ scil’ Johanna, que fuit uxor Johannis Voy, de Pontefract, per Hugonem de Wombwell, attornatum suum, petit versus Petrum de Malolacu, militem, unum messuagium cum pertinenciis in villa de Pontefracto, quod idem Petrus de ea tenet per certa servicia, et quod ad ipsam Johannam revertere debet, per formam statuti, de communi consilio Regis Anglie inde provisi, eo quod predictus Petrus in faciendo predicta servicia per biennium jam cessavit, &c. : Et venit eadem Johanna, [et] dicit, quod cum predictus Petrus teneat de ea predictum messuagium cum pertinenciis per fidelitatem et per redditum octo solidorum per annum ad festa Pentecoste et Sancti Martini in hyeme, per equales porciones annuatim solvendum, de quibus serviciis eadem Johanna fuit seisisa per manus cujusdam Petri de Malolacu patris predicti Petri, versus quem nunc, &c. tempore pacis tempore domini regis nunc, &c. et quod, &c. per formam statuti, &c. eo quod predictus Petrus in faciendo predicta servicia ante diem impetracionis brevis, &c. silicet octavum diem Junii anno regni domini Regis nunc Anglie xxx per biennium jam cessavit. Et inde producit sectam, &c.

“Et Petrus per Willielmum de Swle, (Sewell?) attornatum suum venit et defendit jus suum, quando, &c. et dicit quod predicta Johanna actionem predictam de messuagio predicto versus eum habere non debet, quare dicit quod ubi eadem Johanna per breve suum supponit ipsum Petrum tenere de ea messuagium predictum cum pertinenciis idem Petrus non tenet de ea messuagium illud, prout superius versus eum narravit, et de hoc ponet se super patriam. Et predicta Johanna similiter præceptum ideo est vicecomiti, quod veniret faciat hic a die Sancti Michaelis in unum mensem xii [juratores], &c. per quos, &c. ad recognitionem, &c. Quia tam, &c. et postea continuatio (?) inde processus inter partes predictas per juratores ponitur in respectu hic a die Sancti Martini in xv dies, anno regni domini regis nunc Anglie tricesimo secundo, nisi Willielmus de Notton, unus justiciariorum, &c. die lune proximo post festum Nativitatis beate Marie Virginis, apud Pontefract

prius venit. Et tunc venit predicta Johanna per attornatum suum, et predictus Petrus non venit, &c.

"Placita apud Westmonasterium coram R[oberto] de Thorpe et sociis suis, Justiciarius domini Regis de Banco, de termino pasche, anno regni regis Edwardi tertii xxxij et regni sui Francie xx.

"Ebor', scil' Johanna que fuit uxor Johannis Voy de Pontefract, per Hugonem de Wombwell, attornatum suum, opponit se quarto die versus Petrum de Malolacu, militem, de placito unius messuagii cum pertinentiis in villa de Pontefract, ut jus suum, &c. Et ipse non venit, et alias facit inde defaultam hic a die Sancti Martini in xv dies proximas preteritasque. Postquam comp[aruit] curia et placitavit, &c., ita quod tunc præceptum fuit vicecomiti quod caperet predictum messuagium in manus domini Regis, &c. Et summonet eum quod esset hic ad hunc diem, scilicet a die pasche in unum mensem, auditurum inde judicium suum. Et vicecomes modo mandat quod ceperit predictum messuagium in manus domini regis, &c. Et quod summonitus, &c. Ideo consideratum est quod predicta Johanna reciperet inde seisinam suam versus eum per defaultam. Et idem Petrus in misericordia, &c."

Mr. Wentworth also laid before the meeting an "Inquisitio post Mortem," with regard to the estate of the same Joan Voy, dated 43rd Edward III (1369). The inquisitions were returns to the writ of "Diem clausit extremum," which issued from the crown, and were directed to the escheator of the county on the death of a tenant *in capite* of the crown, to inquire what lands and tenements he held at his decease, their annual value, who was next heir, and whether the heir (if any) was of age or not. The "Inquisitio" was held before the escheator and twelve jurymen, on oath, and the return made according to their finding:

"Inquisitio capta apud Langley in Comitatu Northumbrie coram Johanne de Scotherskeld, Escaetore Domini Regis in Comitatu predicto, die Jovis ante festum Sancti Andree Apostoli. Anno Regni Edwardi tercii post conquestum xlii (1369) virtute litere Domini Regis de 'diem clausit extremum' eidem Escaetori directe per sacramentum Nicholae de Grendon, Willielmi Le Parker, Johannis Loker, Willielmi Solett, Johannis Hughson, Roberti Elotson, Hugonis Hampson, Ade Goff, Richardi Robertson, Willielmi Felly, Galfridi et Willielmi Clarke, et Willielmi Rankyn, Juratorum, qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Elizabeth, que fuit uxor Petri de Malolacu, seisinam tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo, die quo obiit, medietatem ville de Belford, quam quidem medietatem tenet de domino Rege in Capite per servitium militare, et est in manibus tenencium ad voluntatem, et reddit per annum xxxli., ad terminos Pentecoste et sancti Martini in hyeme per equales porciones. Item dicunt quod eadem Elizabeth in dominico suo ut de feodo et die quo [obiit], medietatem ville de Lowthie que de Rege tenetur in capite per servi-

cium militare et est in manibus tenencium ad voluntatem et reddit per annum *xxli*. ad eosdem terminos. Item dicunt quod predicta Elizabeth tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit, medietatem ville de Wolbore, medietatem de Capinyot, que de Rege tenentur, et reddunt per annum *xl* marcas ad terminos predictos. Item dicunt quod dicta Elizabeth nullas alias terras seu tenementa tenuit die quo obiit in Comitatu predicto. Et dicunt quod predicta Elizabeth obiit ix die anno *xlii* Regis nunc. Et dicunt quod Philippus filius predictæ Elizabeth est heres ejus propinquior, est etatis *xv* Annorum et amplius. In cujus rei testimonium predicti juratores sigilla sua huic Inquisitioni apposuerunt, dato die, loci et anni supradicti."

Mr. Gunston exhibited two bone tubes, apparently the manubria of large implements, found in Egypt. One is cylindrical, four inches and a quarter long, the other square, four inches long; the first carved with rings and a band of seven eyelet holes, the second with triangles and cross lines.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson considered the bone handles as decidedly Egyptian, and illustrated the eyelet hole ornament upon a scarabæus in his possession. He regarded them, however, as belonging to a late date.

Mr. Pettigrew entertained no doubt in regard to their Egyptian character, and observed that in the Collection at Leyden there were seven examples of the same species of ornamentation, figured in the *Musée à Leide* by Professor Leemans. Five of these are on scarabæi (partie I, pl. *xxviii*, fig. 1305, pl. *xxx*, figs. 1687, 1727, 1740, 1741, and two others in partie II, pl. *xx*, fig. 117a, and pl. *xli*, fig. 231), the former being a figure of a man in black talc carrying an animal upon his shoulders, on whose skins the fantastic ornaments appear; the latter on a scarabæus presenting the figure of a child within a circlet of eyelet holes.

Mr. Gunston also produced a small bone haft of early date, incised on each side with two lines of chevrons, found in Clerkenwell; and a triangular blade, likewise of bone, six inches and a quarter long with tang one inch long, probably a spatula. The latter was discovered with Roman remains in Southwark.

The Chairman, in the absence of Mr. Clarence Hopper, forwarded a communication relating to *Bogo de Clare*. He observed that among the "Illustrations of Domestic Manners during the Reign of Edward I," by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., communicated to the Association and printed in the last volume of the *Journal*, is an account of the daily expenditure of *Bogo de Clare* (pp. 66-75), whose history has been further elucidated by Thomas Wakeman, Esq., in a paper inserted in the same volume (372-4). To these we were now enabled, by the researches of our Palæographer, to make the following important addi-

tion, relating to the decease of the individual in question, derived from the Exchequer of Pleas Roll, 24, 25 Edward I, by which it appears that Nicholas Bishop of Sarum is attached to answer to Percival de Ast and Thomas de Estwyk, executors of the will of Bogo de Clare, deceased, in part payment of debts which the said executors owe to the lord the king for the said deceased, on a plea that he may pay to them £122 : 9 : 8, which he owes them for the fruits of the churches, formerly belonging to the said Bogo, of Tacham and Chivele,¹ which fell into the hands of the said bishop after the decease of the aforesaid Bogo, in the year of King Edward, 23. The original is as follows :—

“Nicholaus episcopus Sarum attachiatus ad respondendum Percevallo de Ast et Thome de Estwyk executoribus testamenti Bogonis de Clare defuncti in partem solucionis debitorum que ijdem executores debent domino regi pro predicto defuncto de placito quod reddat eis cxxij*li*. ix*s*. viij*d*. quos eis debet pro fructibus ecclesiarum quondam ipsius Bogonis de Tacham et Chivele que ad manus ipsius episcopi post mortem predicti Bogonis deveniunt de anno regni regis Edwardi xxij et quos eis hucusque injuste detinuit et adhuc detinet ad dampnum suum C. marcarum. Et inde producant etc. Et prefatus episcopus per attornatum suum venit et defendit omnem injustam detencionem et quicquid etc. et dicit quod quoddam breve domini regis sibi venit ad levandum de bonis et catallis que fuerunt predicti Bogonis *cli*. et eas liberandum in garderoba domini regis pretexto cujus brevis idem episcopus cessit in manum domini regis fructus predictarum ecclesiarum de Tacham et Chivele qui appreciati fuerunt ad cx marcas tantum et per idem precium eosdem fructus vendidit cuidam Magistro Thome de Albebury unde idem episcopus solvit in garderoba domini regis xlv marcas de predictis cx marcis in partem solucionis predictarum *cli*. et lxxv marcas residuas solvit domino regi pro medietate bonorum predictarum ecclesiarum quam predictus Bogo debuit domino regi juxta concessionem cleri tunc domino regi inde factam et quod predictos fructus per carius precium quod predictum est vendere non potuit nec aliquid inde post solucionem predictarum xlv marcarum in garderoba et lxxv marcarum domino regi pro medietate predicta per ipsum episcopum factam penes ipsum remansit et hoc petit quod inquiretur. Et predicti executores petunt quid predictus episcopus habeat pro se de solucione predictarum xlv marcarum in predicta garderoba regis et predictarum lxxv marcarum pro medietate predicta qui dicit quod plenam solucionem de eisdem denarijs fecit et quo ad easdem xlv marcas vocat Willielmum Coventr. et Lichf. episcopum qui fuit custos ejusdem garderobe tempore solucionis eorundem denariorum. Et pro predictis lxxv marcis dicit quod habet inde nomine acquietancie literam Abbatis de Redingg collectoris predictae medietatis in diocesi Sarum.

¹ Thatcham and Chieveley in co. Berks.

quam quidem literam non habet nunc in promptu et paratus est eam habere coram etc. ad diem quem curia sibi prefigere voluerit. Et iidem executores dicunt ulterius quod qualitercumque predictus episcopus dicit quod fructus predictarum ecclesiarum appreciati fuerunt ad ex marcas tantum dicunt quod iidem fructus die quo predictus episcopus eos cepit in manum suam valuerunt cxxij*li*. ix*s*. viij*d*. Et quod inde ultra summam predictarum ex marcarum penes predictum episcopum remansit videlicet ad valenciam xlix*li*. iij*s*. de quibus adhuc seisitus et hoc petunt similiter quod inquiratur. Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti quod venire faciat coram etc. in crastino clausi pasche xij tam milites quam alios etc. de visnetis de Tacham et Chivele ad certificandum etc. Et dictum est attornato predicti episcopi quod habeat ad predictum diem predictam literam acquitancie quam dicit se habere de predicto Abbate de Reding."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations on a Chinese fruit tea-pot identical with that described in this *Journal* (xviii. 397), stating that this made at least the fourth example of the kind which he had seen, all bearing the seal of the same potter, who must have practised his art during the reign of the Emperor Kang-hi (1661-1723). These fruit tea-pots are formed of unglazed terra-cotta coloured after nature, and Mr. Cuming now produced a beautiful and early imitation of the capsula of the *Hibiscus* in porcelain, covered with bright green and yellow glaze, and looking as if it had just been plucked from the plant. In Dunn's Chinese collection was a large porcelain dish on a stand, in which were placed two enamel imitations of the *Pekin Peach*, which might have been easily mistaken for the real fruit.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a bronze statuette of a satyr, two inches and a quarter high. It stands erect upon its hirsute legs, and holds an inscribed tablet in its left hand. This figure belongs to the pseudo-antique class of objects, which were produced in such numbers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Mr. Gunston also brought forward a cheek-piece of a powerful bit, five inches wide, of cast brass, the extremities being in the shape of dragons' heads. It was exhumed in Southwark, and appears to be of rather early date.

Mr. Baskcomb exhibited an oval plaque of copper with a chasing of the Conversion of Saul. It formed the top of a box, is of Dutch work of the end of the seventeenth century, and was ploughed up in a field near Eltham Palace, Kent.

Mr. Baskcomb also called attention to an elegant German tobacco pipe of the close of the reign of Leopold I., which doubtlessly belonged to that emperor, or was a present from him to some great personage. The surface of the wooden bowl is incrustated with pearl-shell mosaic and brass piqué-work, is mounted with broad silver ferrules, and has a

conical cover of silver, representing the brick or stone spire of a building, terminating in a monde, on which rests the imperial eagle, ensigned by a crown, and bearing the arms of Austria on its breast. Mr. B. notes that he found this curious relic near the ruins of the old castle of Pekan, a few miles from Gratz, in Lower Styria. It was nearly imbedded in earth, and completely covered with a thick coating of hard rusty dirt, which, however, was removed by boiling in soda and water.

APRIL 8.

T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected Associates :

James Farrer, Esq., M.P., Ingleborough, Lancaster.

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Barclay, Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Sir Henry Halford, Bart., Wistow Hall, Leicester.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a leopard's head in bronze, of fine Greek workmanship, which seems to have been affixed to the side of a bowl as a spout, in the manner of the lions' heads on Samian-ware *mortaria*, and enamelled *gemelliones* of the thirteenth century, of which examples are given in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming illustrated the purpose of the above object, by producing a lion's mask from a Roman *Mortarium*, and one of bronze from a *bacin* or *gemellione* of the thirteenth century. The round perforations through the mouths of both these spouts have been closed with pegs or stopples, but the jaws of the leopard are extended in a way which seems to indicate that no plug had been employed with it.

Mr. Cuming also exhibited a very singular bronze spout of a flagon, representing a dog séant with a tube in its mouth, which is formed into a whistle, and which was no doubt sounded to announce when the vessel was empty. A bronze flagon, nine inches high, with a like spout, but without the whistle, is in the Soulages collection, where it is noted to be of French or German work, and assigned to circa 1400.

Some of the early drinking horns were made to unscrew at the tip, so that they could be used as trumpets; and *Servants' Calls* were not unfrequently combined with table utensils and instruments; instances of which occur in the silver owl cups with the perch formed into a whistle, and the apple scoop, described in this *Journal*, xviii, 274; where mention is likewise made of a silver tobacco stopper and whistle of the time of Charles II. As late as the present century, horn spoons with a whistle in the handle were sold in Fifeshire, and perhaps other parts of Scotland.

Curious examples of bronze vessels with spouts terminating in the heads of animals, are given in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 278, and *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1832, p. 585; and this fashion was revived by the Dresden artists in the eighteenth century, as may be seen in a tea pot engraved in Marryat's *History of Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 134. The origin of all these quaint spouts may be traced through the mediæval *gurgoyles* to the classic *antefixa*; and are allied in spirit to the image vessels, or *lavatoria*, described in this *Journal*, vii, 137, xii, 264, xiv, 91.

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a magician's signet of lead, upwards of two and one-eighth inches diameter, bearing two lines of inscription, one within the other round the verge, and having the field divided into three spaces, in each of which are characters. These mystic or cabalistic legends are composed of letters approaching the Greek in form, but mingled with a few which might pass for Arabic. Beside the words there are some signs, two of them being the potent *pentacle*, i.e., a figure of three trigons, interlaced and formed of five lines, and which must not be confounded with the two conjoined trigons which are held in such high estimation in the east under the title of *Khâtîm Sooleymân*, or Solomon's seal; both devices are, however, regarded as talismans against demons. In the Doucean Museum at Goodrich Court is a silver bowl for casting nativities, within which is graven both these mystic signs. A seal of similar character but rather larger than Mr. Forman's example, is figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, p. 417, from a representation sent by "a London Antiquary." It is of an elliptical form, measuring four inches at its longest diameter, and three directly across the centre. It is stated to have been found eighteen or twenty years previously while digging the foundation for the gaol of Newgate, and about forty feet below the surface of the garden belonging to the College of Physicians, in the ditch which formerly surrounded the city. On its surface the double triangle and the pentacle appear. The material of which it is composed is not specified. The leaden matrix of Mr. Forman was probably employed for making charms of wax or earth, and may be ascribed to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Mr. Vere Irving, V.P., exhibited, on the part of J. B. Greenshields, Esq., junr., of Kerse, photographs of fragments of building stones dug out of the site of the Priory of Lesmahago, Lanarkshire. Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., entertained no doubt as to the early date of the Priory, placing it circa 1100-1120, and gave explanations of the examples laid before the Association. Upon two photographs of the same stones, but differently placed, he remarked: There are two indented ornaments, one being much shallower and earlier than the other, and the comparison led him to the conclusion that this must

have been the origin of the dog-tooth ornament, the deeper one being as nearly a dog-tooth as possible, but not carved into foils.

Two plain stones are, one a mullion and the other a moulding, both of about a century later than the preceding.

Two carvings are Norman; the interlaced ornament is supposed to have been part of a coffin lid, but Mr. Roberts was unable to discover any resemblance to such an object. It measures eleven inches by seven inches, and appears rather to have been part of a capital, the interlacing looking like a true-lover's knot complete in itself and not running out of the stone. The remaining stone is a Norman voussoir, or arch-stone, carved with a grotesque imitation of a head with a long beak. There are several examples of this kind of ornament, one of which was noticed at Avington Church during the Berkshire congress, and is figured in this *Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 58. Other examples are given by Parker, in his *Glossary of Architecture*, plate 117, from St. Ebbe's, Oxford; Tickencote, Rutland; Lincoln Cathedral; Saint Cross, Hants; Charney, Berks. Another photograph is evidently part of an early coffin lid. It is stated to have been originally eighteen inches wide, but as this is given from memory it is probably understated. It is carved with a very elaborate geometrical cross, of about the date of 1160 or 1170, judging from the edge mouldings. The wheel-head of the cross consists of a small cross in the centre, surrounded by a curved interlacing inclosed in a circle. This is again surrounded by a similar interlacing.

The other photographs were of parts of tracery of apparently the thirteenth century.

Mr. Caesar Long communicated the following account of the

DISCOVERY OF RELICS OF THE ANCIENT PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, HOLYWELL.

"In the course of excavations executed in the neighbourhood of New Inn Yard, Shoreditch, for the middle level sewer, an interesting discovery has recently been made of relics which without difficulty may be identified with the ancient Benedictine priory of Haliwell, or Holywell, founded about the year 1100; confirmed by charter of Richard I, 1189; and suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII, in the year 1539, its revenues then amounting, according to Speed, to £347 : 1 : 3 per ann.

"Where the course of the sewer diverges from New Inn Yard, and passes behind the houses in that street, near to the Shoreditch end, is the spot where the excavations are going on; and on Thursday, Jan. 29, the navigators came upon two leaden coffins, lying in order, side by side, about fifteen feet beneath the present surface, which has probably been raised considerably above the former level. The shape of these coffins is peculiar, distinguished by having a head and shoulders,—a

form in stone not uncommon in the reigns of Henry V and VI. From the material of these coffins, it may be reasonably assumed that the persons interred within them were persons of station or quality. They were found resting upon the clay, enclosed in a grave formed of chalk, which fell in as the workmen disturbed it. Both of the leaden shells, when discovered, were somewhat decayed by time; especially round the joints securing the lids, which were easily taken off in several pieces, unlike to the Roman leaden coffins which Mr. Pettigrew has shewn, in his *Chronicles of the Tombs* (p. 233), to have been composed of one sheet of lead. On removing the coffins from the ground, two skeletons in perfect form were discovered, the heads occupying the upper circular cavity. There was neither sign of any flesh nor clothing, nor any relics whatever which it might be supposed would be placed within the coffins of people of note, and who were buried in the Catholic faith. The only other remnants of decay, besides the bones, visible, were—a sort of brownish yellow dust which lay beneath the bones, and a sort of chalky deposit at the bottom of the shells. This deposit is common, and has frequently been found to consist of lime put into the coffin, most probably to hasten the destruction of the body. It is quite certain that these coffins occupied the situation in which they were originally placed; for when they were found there had not been the slightest disturbance of the contents, and one of them was even lifted from the excavation, and brought to the surface, without even displacing the bones; which being held together by no cartilage or tendons, fall apart at the slightest touch; and therefore, as they were found lying side by side in such order, there is no doubt that they occupied to this day their original tomb.

“There is a marked difference between the size of the coffins. One is considerably larger, and across the shoulders about three or four inches wider than the other. It may be conjectured that the smaller contained the lady of the lord who lay by her side; but I am not sufficiently skilled in anatomy to pronounce the fact of a difference in the sex by an inspection of the osseous structure. Nor is it easy to do so, seeing that the contents of the smaller coffin were much more changed than the other, and were much more disturbed, probably by the navigators in the excavation; but there is not the slightest doubt that the larger shell was the last home of a man placed in his tomb in the prime of life; for in the skull, which was perfect in every respect, were two rows of teeth, regular and handsome in the extreme, and without a fault; while in the smaller coffin the lower jaw had fallen out, and several of the teeth were wanting.

“Curiosity is naturally excited to inquire whose remains are these, which have been preserved and forgotten so long, and which have now been exhumed. Fortunately there is no difficulty in finding an answer

to the question, and one which is more free from doubt than such questions usually are, as will be seen from the following statements, which are made on the authority of Sir Henry Ellis and other historians.

“At a period long before the parish of Shoreditch contained scarcely an habitation, and while it consisted of fields devoted chiefly to sports and recreations, there stood upon the present site of New-inn Yard and Holywell-lane a Priory, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was founded, as before observed, about 1100, and by the aid of several benefactors the extent of its buildings and the area of its grounds were considerably enlarged. It became, in fact, a resort of prelates and great people of the land, and even the sovereigns of England were proud to be reckoned among its patrons. It continued to flourish until it was suppressed in 1539, and was surrendered to the Crown. Its ecclesiastical edifices were then pulled down, and houses for the nobles and gentry were built upon its site. It was bounded on the one side by the present High-street, Shoreditch, but the extent of it in other directions it is not possible to trace. There cannot, however, be the slightest doubt that the spot in which these remains were found was within the precincts of the Priory. Indeed there still exists upon the spot, and within a few feet from the exact position in which these remains were found, a very old and curious wall, which may with some degree of certainty be regarded as part of the buildings of this establishment: the present length of it is not far short of one hundred feet. It is built of shaped blocks of a vitrified substance, resembling clinker, now very soft and decayed, and in size from twelve to eighteen inches long, by about ten inches deep. This wall, running due east and west, is probably the remains of the Priory church.

“In the reign of Henry VII, lived Sir Thomas Lovell, a nobleman of wealth and renown, a knight of the garter, and a great benefactor to the city of London, and especially to the Grocers company. In 1485 he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer for life; having in 1478 been knighted at the battle of Stoke. In 1502 he was Treasurer of the King's household, President of the Council, made one of the executors of Henry VII's will, Constable of the Tower, and afterwards Steward and Marshal to the house of Henry VIII. He was a great benefactor to the Priory of Haliwell, building there ‘a beautiful chapel, wherein his body was interred.’¹ This he endowed with fair lands, and he also built himself a large and handsome mansion. He married the daughter of Thomas Lord Ross, of Hamlake, and in 1508 succeeded to the manor of Worcesters, in the parish of Enfield. In the mansion of that manor he was honoured with a visit from Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, in 1516. He died there on the 25th of May, 1524, but

¹ Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, p. 211.

was buried in the chapel which he himself had founded within the Priory of Haliwell. Sir Henry Ellis says it may be presumed that his lady was buried at Haliwell with him, and not, as Mr. Blomfield and Mr. Le Neve state, at Enfield: the monument there, which the former mistook for hers belonging to some of the Rosses, who intermarried, and whose arms are quartered with those of Lovell. A monument representing a knight in a recumbent position was erected soon after his death, and on the death of his lady a figure in marble was placed at its side. In the windows of the chapel, which were of the richest stained glass, the following words, according to Weever, indicative of the high respect in which the memory of Sir Thomas was held, were afterwards inscribed:—

“ ‘Al the nunnes in Holywel
Pray for the soul of Sir Thomas Lovel.’

Blomfield, however, states they were as follows, and were inscribed on a wall of the Priory House:

“ ‘Al the nuns of Haliwell,
Pray ye both day and night
For the soul of Sir Thomas Lovel,
Whom Harry the Seventh made knight.’

“It is recorded by Dugdale, that in the year 1513, Lord Ros, pursuant to his will, was buried nigh the altar in the chapel of this priory; but other historians consider it probable that at the death of his lady, the body was removed to Windsor, as both figures lie upon one tomb in St. George’s Chapel; and upon the tomb is an inscription recording the fact that this nobleman, who died 1513, and his lady, Anne, who died 1526, were there buried. There are no records of any other persons of note whatever having been buried within this chapel, or within the precincts of the priory.

“It is not, however, improbable that within the grounds of the priory was a burial-ground, in which the deceased inmates, and possibly other persons in favour with, or benefactors to, the establishment were buried, as many loose bones have been turned up; but it could hardly be supposed that with ordinary persons, or even with the superiors, that care would have been taken which is evident was the case with those whose remains have just been discovered; and as Sir Thomas and his lady died only a few years before the suppression of the convent in the time of Henry VIII, and were therefore probably the last persons of note who were interred within it, there can be little doubt that these remains are those of Sir Thomas and Lady Lovel.

“No inscription is discoverable on the leaden shells now found. If there ever were any, the corrosion of the metal has quite obliterated it; but it is just possible that, after the demolition of the Priory, the

tomb may have been opened, and the outer shells, with their ornaments, removed; and if so, the leaden shells themselves may have been opened and any valuables that may have been enclosed also removed, and that at a period when decay had not sufficiently set in to allow of the disturbance of the bones. Certainly, the lids of the coffins are in pieces and are open, but whether that may have been the result of decay or of design is a point to which attention was not directed on the occasion of our inspection.

"The engineer of the Metropolitan Board claimed these relics, but the freeholder asserted a claim to them with a view to their re-interment; they were, however, removed by the contractors to their yard in the City-road, previous to which they had been inspected by a great number of persons, and excited great curiosity and interest.

"It is not improbable that some further traces of the convent, probably of the foundation of the buildings, may be discovered during the excavations which will shortly be made for the foundations of the North London Railway, which will pass directly through the ground formerly the site of the Priory, and almost over the very spot where these remains were found; and therefore it might not be unprofitable if some of our Associates would turn their attention to this spot during the progress of the works."

The chairman remarked, that upon occasion of the visit of the Association to Yeovil during the Bridgewater Congress, he observed in the museum there collected, a fragment of sculpture, which appeared to him to have formed a portion of an Easter sepulchre; but no information concerning it could be obtained, further than that it had been brought from Glastonbury Abbey. Mr. Moore, of West Coker, obligingly had a drawing made of it, which, having been placed in Mr. Syer Cuming's hands, that gentleman submitted the following observations:—

HOLY SEPULCHRE OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

"In some of our ancient churches, as at Stanton St. John's, Oxon, may yet be seen on the north side of the chancel near the altar, a low arched recess, resembling in design the canopy of a tomb; but though this recess has the aspect and bears the title of sepulchre, it was never constructed to cover the remains of mortal man, but was intended to represent the *sepulchrum domini*, wherein, on the evening of Good Friday, was placed the crucifix and pyx, and at times, according to Barnabe Googe's English version of Naogeorgus (f. 51), an effigy of the defunct Saviour:

" 'Another image doe they get, like one but newly deade,
With legges stretcht out at length, and handes upon his body spreade;
And him, with pompe and sacred song, they beare unto his grave,
His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and silkes and sarcenet brave.'

"It was an ancient belief that the second advent of our Lord would take place on Easter Eve; hence arose the practice of watching the sepulchre until the dawn of Easter Sunday, when the crucifix and pyx were removed with devout ceremony to the altar, and the sacred roof re-echoed the joyous declaration—*Christus resurgens*.

"The purport of these holy sepulchres was in some instances rendered permanently apparent by a few images being carved on the front of the base, representing the Roman guard who watched the shrine at Jerusalem. In our *Journal* (i, 72) is an engraving of the curious sepulchre in Patrington church, Yorkshire, which has three arches at its base, within each of which is seated a sleeping soldier, with pointed basinet and blazoned shields. This curious example is of the decorated style of architecture, and has, about half-way up its height, a sort of shelf, on which the Saviour appears just awakened from death; an angel with censer being placed at the head and feet. The stately sepulchre in Heckington church, Lincolnshire, which also belongs to the decorated period, has four soldiers seated beneath an arcade, and above, the Saviour standing erect with an angel on either side. And the sepulchre in the chapel on Wakefield-bridge, Yorkshire, has also a figure of the Saviour rising from the tomb, with an angel kneeling on each side, their hands clasped in fervent adoration, whilst three soldiers beneath are gazing upwards in fearful astonishment. The beautiful sepulchre in Northwold church, Norfolk, in the Perpendicular style, has lost its image of the Redeemer; but on its base are four soldiers, each divided from the other by a tree.¹ The three seated soldiers are all that now remain of the Easter sepulchre in Lincoln cathedral. And a portion of the guard is all that is left of the sepulchre we are now about to describe, and which is noted to have come from Glastonbury Abbey, and attracted so much notice in the Yeovil Museum during our Somersetshire congress in 1856. Though this fragment is barely half the base of the sepulchre, it is of considerable interest, not merely as a relic of the glorious old abbey, but as a faithful delineation of the military habits of the early part of the fifteenth century; for to this period the sculpture must undoubtedly be referred. One of the two figures here remaining is seated on a bank, the other sleeps in a reclining posture on the ground, and supports his head on his right hand. Both wear high pointed basinets, with large camails covering the chest and shoulders; the nether limbs are incased in cuissarts, and greaves or jambs with long-toed sollerets, the genouilleres, or knee plates having very strongly marked rims. Over the body armour is belted a short plaited jupon, with the wide hanging sleeves so characteristic of the knightly costume of the era of our fifth Henry. The

¹ This, with the sepulchre at Heckington, is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

seated soldier holds a spear, and shield of oval form, once probably blazoned with some heraldic insignia, in the manner of the bucklers on the Patrington sepulchre. By the side of the sleeping figure is laid an axe. The presence of this weapon is a novelty in such a situation, but it is not quite unique; for among other items furnished to the holy sepulchre in St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, in 1470, were four knights 'with their weapons in their hands, that is to say, two axes and two spears, with two paves' (or shields).¹ On the left arm and partly on the side of the reclining guard, is placed a right naked foot, and if it be that of the resuscitated Saviour, the effigy must have differed materially in position from all others here referred to, and may perhaps have appeared as if descending from the ledge of the tomb. Slight traces of colour are seen on the imagery, and the ground is painted green and powdered with little white flowers with red eyes, calling to mind one of the Good Friday ceremonies described by Naogeorgus (f. 51).

" 'With tapers all the people come, and at the barriers stay,
Where downe upon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray,
And violets and every kinde of flowres about the grave
They straw, and bring in all their giftes and presents that they have.'

"In reviewing the subject of Easter sepulchres, we cannot help remarking on the paucity of early representations of the tomb and resurrection of our Lord, and the quaint way in which they were set forth by ancient artists.

"Among the sculptures in Agincourt's *History of Art by its Monuments* (xii, 18) is a Latin carving on ivory of the Greek school of the tenth century, on which the holy sepulchre appears as a round building of two stories, with conical roof, and having a door with a window above it, and four soldiers in classic habiliments, armed with spears and shields, are seated two on each side. The Saviour is not shewn on the panel, the upper part being occupied by the hanging of Judas. This curious ivory is preserved in the treasury of St. Ambrose, at Milan.

In an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Harleian collection (No. 2908), is an illumination where the sleeping guard at the tomb is armed with a long spear and huge convex buckler bossed and bound with metal, and really representing a soldier of the tenth century.

"A remarkable relic of gilt brass, believed to be the panel of a pyx, or receptacle for the consecrated host, was discovered some years since during the repairs of the Temple church, and which bears in high relief three soldiers standing beneath round-topped arches. The pyx, no doubt, was intended to represent the holy sepulchre, and these soldiers a portion of the Roman guard, though the costume is of the

¹ See Britton's *Redcliffe Church*, p. 27.

early part of the twelfth century, each wearing a conic helmet with nasal, hauberk of flat ringlets reaching below the knees, under tunics, and shoes with curved points. They have long decorated kite-shaped shields with prominent bosses, a sword on the left side, and one holds a spear.¹

"It was not until the introduction of the Decorated style of architecture, that representations of the holy sepulchre appear to have become a common feature in our churches, and evidence exists that they continued to be built, repaired, and furnished down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

"In the sixteenth century the subject of the resurrection of our Lord seems to have become far more popular, if we may dare to employ such an expression, than it had ever been before, and both painter and sculptor imparted to it a grandeur and variety in conception unseen in designs of an earlier era.²

"The seventeenth century witnessed a melancholy decadence in religious treatment of the sacred history. The image of the resuscitated Redeemer was indeed still placed erect upon the canvas, but the poetry and spiritualism of art lay dead."

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of a revised paper, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., on Queen Eleanor's Cross at Northampton, which will be printed in the proceedings of the Congress of 1862.

APRIL 22.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

John Whitehead Walton, Esq., 21B, Savile Row, was elected an Associate.

Thanks were given for the following presents :—

To the Society. Numismatic Chronicle, No. ix, N.S., March 1863, 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for April 1863, 8vo.

Dr. Silas Palmer of Newbury announced the discovery of a Roman villa of some extent at Ealing Farm, about a mile and a half from

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, Oct. 1833, p. 305. Weever (p. 118) states that the Knights Templars had a representation of the holy sepulchre in their church at Holborn, with verses, brought from Jerusalem. This, of course, must have been a portable shrine; probably like those still found in collections, formed of wood set with pearl shell, and of which two examples are in the British Museum. On August 2, 1846, the late Mr. Crofton Croker exhibited to the Association the bust of a knight from a holy sepulchre, stated to have been found in the Temple Church. It was a counterpart to the heads of the guard in the chapel on Wakefield Bridge.

² A curious sixteenth century representation of the Resurrection occurs on the seal of Christ's Hospital, Ruthin, North Wales, dated 1590. A gigantic figure of the Saviour rises from the tomb, and two of the Roman guard are equipped in Elizabethan morions. (See *Journal*, xiv, 325.)

Well House, Berks. The plough had disturbed the soil over it, when walls, a portion of a tessellated pavement, and a hypocaust were uncovered. There were many fragments of pottery, and flanged and flooring tiles scattered over the ground on all sides. The land has recently been cleared, and the spot on which the villa originally stood was covered with copse wood. Dr. Palmer visited the spot last Wednesday, and found many fragments of tiles, bones, and pottery. The owner has given him permission to make any excavations he may deem necessary; and it is his intention, as soon as the crops upon the spot have been gathered in, to commence his examination, to which he was desirous of inviting the Associates. Mr. Luke Lousley had seen a portion of the pavement referred to, and describes it as being very perfect, with an elegant design, and the colours brilliant and well combined.

Dr. Palmer also acquainted the Association that a large camp on the Hampshire chain of hills, not hitherto mentioned by any antiquary, had been discovered, and that various coins of Probus, Carausius, Licinius, and others, had been met with. The tenant has promised to forward these, and a collection of pottery, spear-heads, etc., for examination.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited three *minimi*, found at Bittern (*Clausemum*); an "Urbs Roma," minted at Constantinople; an Arcadius, also minted at Constantinople; and one of those rude pieces which seem to have been issued by the British princes after the departure of the Romans from this island, and which are evidently the prototype of the Anglo-Saxon sceatta. *Obv.*, bearded profile to the right with spiked crown; *rev.*, standing figure of a soldier with a spear. The two following objects were also contributed by Mr. Kell: 1. A gold-plated thumb-ring of the fifteenth century, consisting of a plain stout hoop nearly half an inch wide, within which is engraved the words *Melior Erra Candu Plura*, which Mr. Kell renders—"When God pleases better will be." 2. A brass tobacco-stopper, the top cast from an oval medalet, bearing on its *obv.* the full-faced bust of the Parliamentary general Robert Earl of Essex; *rev.*, a shield charged with the arms of Devereux (*arg.* a fess, *gu.* in chief three torteaux). Mr. Cuming has a similar example, found in the Thames 1845; and a bad engraving of the medalet is given in the *Medals of England*, pl. xxi, 7.

Dr. S. Palmer exhibited a vesica-shaped matrix of lead of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, found at Newbury, which seems to have been the seal of Alfrid, son of Robert Rahbuo. It was referred for arrangement with matrices of similar material.

Professor Buckman of Cirencester transmitted for exhibition some highly curious objects discovered in the counties of Wilts and Gloucester. A well-wrought celt or axe-blade of flint was obtained on the farm of Mr. White, in the village of Crudwell in Wiltshire. It is the best of

three which were discovered during the progress of draining, at about two feet from the surface. The field is perfectly level, and offers no external indication of anything extraordinary; but the drainers stated that as they cut the drains they met with bones and bits of pottery, which seemed to occupy a line across the field. Of the three specimens found in the same drain, the one now sent measures ten inches in length, another nine inches and a half; the third was broken, but was much of the same character and size as the one now sent by the kindness of Mr. White. Bones and potsherds, it was said, had been thrown back in the filling up the drains, and some bits were picked up, and were sent with the Celt. Crudwell is situate on the extreme borders of North Wilts, not far from the Roman Akeman Street. It is in the oolite, and far away from the flint chalk, and not covered with flint drift. The flints from which these specimens are formed probably came from Berkshire.

Cirencester (the ancient *Corinium*) furnishes us with two relics of great interest. The first is an *olla*, four inches and a half high, resembling one given in this *Journal* (ii, p. 136, fig. 4). Its novelty is therefore not in its shape, but in its contents, for within it were found the bones of a large song-bird. It is well known that the ancient Egyptians buried the embalmed bodies of the hawk and ibis in earthen jars; but the occurrence of the remains of birds in sepulchral deposits has seldom been noticed in this country. The late Mr. Thomas Bateman of Yolgrave discovered portions of two species of *falconides* in barrows of the *Stone Period*; and the archaic custom of bird burial still lingers in Ireland, where the wren is interred on the festival of St. Stephen.

The second object from *Corinium* was found in the Leuses Garden, and is a large iron padlock, which, together with other objects from Gloucestershire, is figured on plate 9, and described in Mr. T. Wright's paper, pp. 100-105, *ante*.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

MAY 13.

JOHN LEE, ESQ., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.

The Auditors presented the following Report and balance sheet of the Treasurer's accounts for the past year :

"We, the Auditors appointed at the General Meeting, in 1861, to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the British Archæological Association for the year 1862, have now to report that we have duly

inspected the accounts and their respective vouchers; and find that, including the balance of the preceding year, there has been received by the Treasurer the sum of £571:6:7; and expended by the same, £515:17:10; leaving a balance of £55:8:9 in favour of the Association.

"It is satisfactory to report that there is not a single outstanding account against the Association, and that the entire expenses attending the publication of the four quarterly Journals for the year, and of the second part of vol. i. of the *Collectanea Archæologica*, are all discharged. Upon the latter, however, many subscriptions are unpaid; and we desire to express to the members the necessity of discharging these obligations at their earliest convenience. The publication is one reflecting much credit upon the Association, and deserves a far greater support than it has hitherto received. We feel assured that the subject needs only to be placed by the Council before the Associates at large to ensure their attention, and thereby secure the continuance of the work, and protect the society against any loss incurred in its production. Part I of vol. ii is in a forward state for issue, and will be found to contain papers of great archæological interest; such as must of necessity claim the attention of future historians and antiquaries.

"The past year has been one very generally unfavourable to societies of a scientific character. Our Association has participated with others in this respect; yet there have been elected into the society thirty new members. The Congress failed to be as productive as usual; and we have had also to lament the absence of the Treasurer, who by ill health has been prevented from taking the active part he has been accustomed to do on these and other occasions where the interests of the society are concerned. Fourteen members have withdrawn; eight have deceased; and it has been recommended by the Council to remove from the list of associates three members in arrear of their subscriptions,—a measure which, although painful, is highly necessary to preserve the integrity of the Association.

"In closing our Report we desire to add our testimony to that of all preceding Auditors from the establishment of the Association, as to the accuracy with which the accounts are kept, and to the uniform zeal of the Treasurer to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Association.

"GEO. G. ADAMS }
GEO. PATRICK } *Auditors.*

"May 11, 1863."

1862.	RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	1862.	PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
Balance due to the Association at the audit of 1861 . . .	. . .	172 0 8	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> . . .		197 14 6
Annual and life subscriptions . . .	. . .	264 12 0	Illustrations to the same . . .		70 6 2
Donations for general purposes : . . .	. . .		Printing and publishing <i>Collectanea Archaeologica</i> , Part II . . .		
S. R. Solly, Esq. . .	. 5 0 0		Illustrations to the same . . .		94 6 8
Mr. Jobbins . . .	. 1 1 0		Binding <i>Journal</i> for 1862 . . .		43 8 8
Sale of publications . . .	. . .	6 1 0	Ditto and stiff covers for <i>Collectanea</i> . . .		5 8 0
Net balance of Leicester Congress . . .	. . .	85 5 4	Miscellaneous printing . . .		9 10 0
	. . .	43 7 7	Rent of rooms for public meetings . . .		7 14 0
			Delivery of the <i>Journal</i> and envelopes . . .		13 13 0
			Stationery . . .		28 4 0
			Delivery of <i>Collectanea</i> . . .		4 14 2
			Postage, advertisements, and notices . . .		4 4 0
			Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, and gratuities to servants . . .		24 3 0
			Balance in favour of the Association . . .		12 12 0
					55 8 9

Members elected 1862 :

Arthur Shute, Esq., Liverpool
 Thomas Shapter, M.D., Exeter
 William Poole King, Esq., Rodney Place, Clifton
 Charles Pearce, Esq., Grove Hill, Camberwell
 J. H. Le Keux, Esq., Argyll Place, King's Cross
 H. M. Bunbury, Esq., Marlstone House, Newbury
 William Jones, M.D., Lower Seymour-street
 Henry T. Riley, Esq., St. Peter's-square, Hammersmith.
 Clarence Hopper, Esq., Albert-place, Denmark-road
 William G. Marshall, Esq., Colney Hatch
 Francis Ker Fox, M.D., Brialington House, near Bristol
 Mrs. Bateman, Lomerdale House, Yolgrave
 J. H. Heal, Esq., Grass Farm, Finchley
 Samuel Heywood, Esq., College Green, Bristol
 Wilson Pearson, Esq., LL.D., Castle Donington
 Francis Drake, Esq., Market-street, Leicester
 Captain Hartopp, Royal Horse Guards
 Thomas Redman, Esq., New-street, Leicester
 Samuel Viccars, Esq., Leicester
 James Thompson, Esq., Leicester
 H. P. Markham, Esq., Northampton
 E. F. Law, Esq., Priory Cottage, Northampton
 Thomas Scriven, Esq., Northampton
 Thos. North, Esq., Southfields, Leicester
 Jeremiah Long, Esq., Park-street, Westminster
 Capt. Meadows Taylor, Old Court, Harold's Cross, Dublin
 Major Noel, Clan a Falls, Lydney, Gloucestershire
 John Wimble, Esq., Wallbrook
 Henry Percy Cotton, Esq., Gloster-road, Regent's Park
 Mrs. Lee, Hartwell House, near Aylesbury.

Members Withdrawn :

Rev. I. D. Heath, M.A.	C. Kemys Tynte, Esq.
J. A. Latham, Esq.	H. B. Hodson, Esq.
J. H. Mason, Esq.	Rev. J. R. Eaton
H. M. Mason, Esq.	Rev. Edw. Hale
Thos. Hughes, Esq., F.S.A.	Alwin Shutt Bell, Esq.
Geo. E. Hughes, Esq.	Rev. Thos. Rankin
Dudley Costello, Esq.	M. H. Marsh, Esq., M.P.

Members Deceased :

James Dearden, Esq., F.S.A.	Rev. W. F. Hope, M.A., D.O.L., F.R.S.
Walter Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A.	Lord Arundell of Wardour
Thomas Peet, Esq.	William Henry Slaney, Esq.
William T. Maunsell, Esq., M.A.	Joseph Frederick Ledsam, Esq.

Members erased for Non-Payment of their Subscriptions :

J. O. Pawle, New Inn, Strand	5 years due
Thos. Smith, High-street, Notting Hill	5 ditto
Edward Ravenhill, Warminster	5 ditto

Thanks were voted to the Auditors for their Report, also to the Treasurer for his continued and valuable attention to the interests of the Association.

Thanks were likewise given to the President, the Vice-Presidents, other officers, and Council, for their services during the year ; and to

the authors of papers and exhibitors of antiquities at the public meetings during the session.

The meeting then proceeded to ballot for officers and Council for 1863-4, when the following were returned as elected :

PRESIDENT.

R. MONCKTON MILNES, M.P., M.A., D.C.L.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR CHAS. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.

NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.

GEORGE VERR IRVING.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. B. PLANCHÉ, *Rouge Croix*.

H. SYME CUMING.

EDWARD ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

T. WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palmographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.

HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEO. G. ADAMS

GEORGE ADAM

WM. HARLEY BAYLEY, F.S.A.

THOMAS BLASHILL

JOHN GRAY

W. D. HAGGARD, F.S.A.

MATTHEW HARPLEY

GORDON M. HILLS

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

WM. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.

GEORGE MAW, F.S.A.

THOMAS PAGE, C.E.

RD. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.

EDW. JOSEPH POWELL

J. W. PREVITÉ

SAMUEL R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S.,

F.S.A.

AUDITORS.

T. W. DAVIES.

J. V. GIBBS.

The following obituary notices were then delivered by the Treasurer, and the special thanks of the meeting voted for the communication.

The meeting by acclamation voted their thanks to the President for his great services during the year, and his conduct on this occasion in the chair. The Association dined afterwards at St. James's Hall, and celebrated their anniversary. Dr. Lee in the chair.

Obituary for 1862.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

Although in number the losses we have sustained by death among our associates does not extend in the past year beyond the ordinary average, it yet embraces some who have been warmly attached to our association, and members from the first institution of our body.

JAMES DEARDEN, Esq., F.S.A., of Rochdale, was one among the earliest to give countenance to our congress at Canterbury, to which he contributed a donation; and subsequently, upon the adoption of an annual subscription, became an associate, and continued as such to the close of his existence, which took place on the 2nd of January, 1862, at the age of sixty-two years. He felt much interest in archæological pursuits; but I am not aware of any emanations from his pen on subjects of antiquity. I strongly suspect his taste to have been much engendered or fostered by the establishment of our association, for it was at this time that he was admitted as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He was a person of influence in his sphere, being lord of the manor of Rochdale, and liberal in his promotion of historical and antiquarian publications.

THOMAS PEET, Esq., of Manchester, joined our association in 1851, the year of our visit to Manchester. At the request of James Heywood, Esq., president of that congress, he became the local treasurer on the occasion of our there holding the annual meeting, and was very active in promoting our views. He was born at Wigan, in Lancashire, March 24, 1788, and died at Manchester, January 14, 1862, at the age of seventy-three years. He received his education at the grammar school, Wigan, and afterwards held a commission as captain in the Wigan Local Militia. He was, however, engaged in business as a calico printer, and afterwards as a public accountant, and latterly as a director of the Union Bank of Manchester. He felt much interest in antiquarian researches, and in their pursuit was eminently useful to his fellow citizens, and received a handsome presentation of plate from the Salford Market Committee, in acknowledgment of his research, by which they were enabled to establish their right to the ancient market of Salford. This was in February, 1844. In private life he was highly esteemed, and distinguished by his active benevolence. He took deep interest in the establishment of the Salford Dispensary.

WALTER HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A., of Leonard Place, Kensington, was a most constant friend to our association. He was formerly engaged in

business as a Russia merchant, then residing in Finsbury Circus. His taste for collecting antiquities, of which he had a tolerable collection, early developed itself, and in 1842 he was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Numismatics may be considered as having been the object of his special attention, and he made some communications to the Numismatic Society, of which he was one of the original members. He manifested his desire to make his collection available for public good by bequeathing to the United Service Museum, to which he was otherwise no inconsiderable benefactor, such of his coins, medals, tokens and specimens of numismatology, casts, books, etc., as should be selected by the council as being calculated to promote a desire to the study of history, when accompanied by a well digested *catalogue raisonnée*, and for the composition and completion of such a catalogue he left a legacy of £500.

To the Society of Antiquaries he made two contributions, which have been printed in their *Transactions*;¹ one giving an account of a hemisphere of a stone shot of large size, found in the Tower moat, in his collection; the other relating to an ancient sling bullet and the mode of its employment.

We have also two communications from him to our *Journal*, one² on a very fine specimen of Roman lamp belonging to the christian period; the other, a small panel engraved in outline on oak, the incised lines being filled up with threads of brass. The subject is historical and of much interest, being a representation of the "reputed vision of Henry I." As I communicated a paper on the legend, and gave a particular description of the panel, which has been engraved in the *Journal*, it is unnecessary to make further allusion to it in this place. Mr. Hawkins died rather suddenly on the 27th of January, 1862, at the age of seventy-four years. He will be long remembered by us as one of a most kind and benevolent nature.

WILLIAM THOMAS MAUNSELL, Esq., died on the 13th March, 1862, at the age of forty-nine years. He was the eldest son of Thomas Philip Maunsell, who for upwards of twenty years represented the northern division of the county of Northampton. Our associate was born at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, the residence of his grandmother, the Hon. Barbara Cockayne Medlycott. His mother was one of the co-heirs of the Cockayne family, Lords Viscount Cullen, in the kingdom of Ireland. Mr. Maunsell received his education at Eton, whence he went to Christ Church, Oxford, and there took his degree of M.A., and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1837, and practised on the Midland Circuit. In 1859 he was appointed recorder of Stamford. In addition to these avocations, he was also a captain in the North-

¹ *Archæologia*, xxx, 323.

² Vol. x, p. 91.

ampton Militia under his father, and he was also in the commission of the peace for that county. Much interested and well versed in mediæval antiquities, he published in the *Ecclesiologist* some papers relating to bells and bell-ringing. He joined our association through his relative, an esteemed vice-president of our body, the late Sir James Annesley, in 1852, and was, a short time prior to the illness which removed him from us, contemplating a communication for our *Journal*. He was buried at Thorpe Malsor, where his family possess a large estate, with the lordship of the manor, and hundred of Rothwell, descended to them through a learned and eccentric serjeant-at-law, George Hill, who died in 1808, at the advanced age of ninety-one. Mr. Maunsell was of mild, unassuming manners, much beloved by all who knew him, exercising himself in acts of charity, especially in his native place, where he is much and justly lamented.

I now arrive at a name in the obituary of the year at which we must all repine, the Rev. FREDERICK WILLIAM HOPE, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., etc., one distinguished in private life by his most amiable and benevolent character, and who in public will ever be regarded as a distinguished contributor to natural science, and the founder of a much needed professorship in the University of Oxford. I look back to a period of thirty years' communion and friendship with pride and satisfaction, and the regret I feel at his loss is commensurate with the gratification and information I derived from his society.

The Rev. Mr. Hope was born on the 3rd of January, 1797, in Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square. He was the second son of John Thomas Hope and of Ellen Hester Mary, only child of Sir Thomas Edwardes, Bart., of Ealing, Middlesex, and Netley, Shropshire. Mr. Hope received a portion of his earlier education from an old and respected friend of mine, the Rev. Mr. Delafosse, of Richmond; after which he was entered at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1820, and took the degree of M.A. in 1823. His health was always delicate, but his activity was great; for his mental energy was sufficient to carry him through any object which called for his attention. He selected the church as his vocation, and was ordained to a curacy at Frodesley, Shropshire, one of the livings in the gift of his family. The pursuit of natural history was, it may be said, a passion in which he indulged from the earliest period of his useful life. Under Dr. Kidd, at Oxford, he studied geology and other branches of science with great ardour; but the chief department of natural science to which his attention was directed was entomology, in which branch, I may be permitted, without fear of contradiction, to say, he was the most highly qualified of his day. I state this upon no less an authority than that of the late Rev. W. Kirby, F.R.S., who gave to me personally this

character of my friend. I could state many circumstances in proof of this assertion, but I will content myself with recording one which occurred to me at a time when I was paying much attention to the processes of embalming adopted by the ancient Egyptians. In the examination of one of the mummies—that of which I have given a representation and particular description in my work on this subject, published in 1834—I met with a quantity of *débris* that had simply the appearance of so much dirt mixed up with minute fragments of wings, legs, and other most diminutive parts of insects. I placed this mass before him in the presence, I recollect, also of our distinguished associate and vice-president, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S.; and Mr. Hope immediately, without being apprized whence it had been obtained, pronounced the mass to be composed of insects whose natural food was animal matter, which he deduced from the apparent structure of the mandibles, and the formation of the limbs. It was, in fact, the remains of insects which had been feeding upon the ancient Egyptian during his embalment, and whose labours, together with their existence, had been brought to an end by the heat and medicaments employed in the conservation of the form of a human mummy. What Baron Cuvier and Professor Owen have been able to accomplish in the building up of a mammal, or a bird, or other animal from a single bone, Mr. Hope could do with a portion of wing, or limb or wing-case of an insect. I always derived much assistance from his vast entomological knowledge, on the occasion alluded to as well as in other objects of pursuit; and in examining some heads brought for me from Egypt by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, we found contained within the skull of one, a number of insects in various stages of their existence, that had most probably first drawn their vitality within the head, where the ova had been, during the process of embalming, deposited, and the whole being afterwards bandaged up and all exit closed, there they were born, passed the short period of their life, exhibited themselves in different states of their progress, and became ultimately embalmed within the skull, which formed for them the cradle of their birth and the tomb for their dead remains. Mr. Hope was able to mark all the distinguishing appearances of these insects; and as although the genera to which they belonged was known, yet not the precise species, we agreed to name them, from the peculiarity of their situation and circumstances, *Necrobia numiarum* and *Dermestes pollinctus*. The present professor of zoology at Oxford, J. O. Westwood, Esq., made a drawing of these in their natural and magnified forms, their larva, ova, etc., which I now lay before you, and which I had engraved in the work before alluded to, and I offer it as an evidence of Mr. Hope's intimate acquaintance with entomology.

It is not remarkable that Mr. Hope should have been early admitted

into the fellowship of the Linnæan Society and many other societies abroad established for the promotion of natural history. These connexions led him to a very extensive correspondence with eminent professors and other distinguished persons; and being happily endowed with ample means to indulge in any pursuit of which he might make choice, he readily obtained from, I may say, almost every part of the world specimens which led him to form a cabinet which was the envy of many, and the delight of all. I well recollect this rich collection as deposited in Seymour Street, and witnessed with wonder the variety and splendour of this department of animated nature. In this museum were to be found assembled and associated naturalists not only of this but of many foreign countries, and conversazioni held of the most interesting character. This rich museum is now, by the liberality of Mr. Hope, deposited at Oxford. It was given to the University in 1849; and upon occasion of laying of the first stone of the New University Museum, in 1855, Mr. Hope was justly distinguished by having conferred upon him the honorary degree of D.C.L. To this collection he may be said to have continued to make additions up to the time of his decease, although the latter years of his life were passed under sufferings of ill health of a very severe description. But his mind was of too vast a character to limit his researches to one department: he made collections in all the branches of natural history, and he purchased large and entire collections, among which may be mentioned Mr. Hubbard's, of Orkney birds; Professor Bell's, of reptiles and crustacea; Mr. Westwood's, of insects, books, and drawings; and Mr. Wollaston's, of the insects of Madeira. These vast accessions have all been added to his munificent gift to the University of Oxford, rendering the entire collection unrivalled, if we except those in the national collections of London, Berlin, and Paris. Mr. Hope was acutely sensible that, however valuable and desirable such collections must be to the students of his Alma Mater, yet that their value and importance would be very greatly diminished unless a professorship should be established specially devoted to their consideration. Hitherto there existed no chair for the teaching of zoology. With his collections, therefore, he endowed a professorship of £300 per annum, by which his name will be handed down to posterity as a great benefactor to his university and his country. The nomination of the professor was left to Mr. Hope during his life, and as the first occupant of the chair he nominated Mr. J. O. Westwood, a name well known to all naturalists, and one, also, with which archæologists are in no little degree acquainted. Mr. Hope also appointed Mr. Westwood the Curator of the Museum.

Mr. Hope was a good scholar, and his Latin compositions were elegant. That his tastes should lead him to indulge to a certain degree beyond the range of natural objects is not surprising; and in collecting the

portraits of distinguished naturalists, he was led also to those who had eminently cultivated other branches of science, the arts, and literature, and in the course of time led him to the formation of a most remarkable collection of engraved portraits and topography, consisting of more than 200,000 specimens. The portraits have been estimated to be not fewer than 140,000, and the topographical engravings nearly 70,000, whilst the engravings in natural history are between 20,000 and 30,000 in number. The portraits are arranged, according to the subjects for which the individuals were peculiarly distinguished, in Solander cases, the larger in portfolios and guard books. These have all been given to the University of Oxford, and are open to the inspection of the public, for which he anxiously stipulated. He has been no less liberal in regard to his vast collection of drawings in natural history and topography, and to these are attached his books, forming a very extensive library of works in all branches of natural history, which serve to elucidate his museum. I recollect that when in London, I have seen him at his daily occupation devoting himself to a case of insects, for they required attention at least once a year to be preserved from destruction—so fragile is their nature. He had a case, he used to tell me, for every day in the year; and latterly, in the arrangement of his collection of engraved portraits, etc., he was happy in having as his assistant his amiable and enlightened partner, whose undeviating attention to his pursuits and constant care of his health under great infirmity were the admiration of all who had the happiness to enjoy their society and friendship. Of the Entomological Society of London Mr. Hope was a founder, and he published various papers in the *Transactions* of that society, also in the *Proceedings* of the Linnean Society; and a distinct work, in three volumes 8vo, on the *Classification of Coleopterous Insects*. Highly gratifying as it would be to me to dwell upon these researches, I must yet forbear, as they do not come under the denomination of those to which our attention is particularly directed. I cannot, however, withhold the mention of a work which is only in MS. at present, but which I trust may some day be put before the public, as interesting to all classes and to all readers—his *Entomologia Sacra*—in which the character of, and the antiquities connected with all species of insects referred to in Holy Writ are most precisely and learnedly discoursed of.

Mr. Hope was most liberal in his communications to other naturalists, and it would be difficult to form any estimate of the aid given by him to many authors in the production of their works. Looking over some of his MSS.—many of which are fragmentary, but of considerable value, left to the University, and I may venture to hope to form the nuclei of future essays—I found one, in rough notes, of contributions rendered to the late amiable Mr. Kirby, for his admirable Bridgewater

Essay. Many have readily acknowledged the services Mr. Hope had rendered to them. Mr. Yarrell takes special notice of the assistance he had received in his works on *British Birds and Fishes*; Mr. Stephens on *English Insects*; Dr. Royle in his work on the *Himalayas*; in the remarks on the *Entomo-geography of India*, and others at home and abroad. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, of the Linnæan, took a warm part in the establishment of the Zoological Society, and was President of the Entomological Society. Many foreign academies and societies enrolled his name in their lists, and we have had the honour of his name from the commencement of our labours. I look back with pride at having introduced him into our Association; and for a short time he was a member of our Council. Had his health permitted of a continued residence in England, we should doubtless have benefited much from his exertions. We had, however, the great satisfaction of seeing him at our Congress at Shrewsbury, and he was present on occasion of our visit to Uriconium. I had the pleasure of passing a week with him, after that Congress, at the seat of his brother, Mr. Hope-Edwardes, at Netley in Shropshire; and it is with much gratification we find that gentleman's name in the list of our Associates.

The state of his health rendered a residence abroad absolutely necessary to him; but he followed up with unabated assiduity his attention to natural history. Nice, the climate of which appeared to be congenial to his frame, offered him abundant opportunities of collecting fish and the crustacea to add to his collections. At Naples, in 1851, he printed a Catalogue, *Dei Crostacei Italiana e di molta altri del Mediterraneo*, which is highly important in regard to the identification of species and the establishment of their habitats. Many of these are for the first time recorded and named. He also published in Italian *Descrizione di alcune Specie d'Insetti Fossili*, in a memoir presented to the Academy degli Aspiranti Naturalisti in 1847.

Mr. Hope's zeal sustained him to the last; but nature was exhausted, and on the 15th of April, 1862, at the age of sixty-five years, he expired. To a naturally weak system, I fear his subsequent ill state of health to have been much produced by his energetic temperament, his eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge, and particularly in his researches in Holland, where he was attacked with ague in a virulent form. From that time I sensibly observed his failure: he also, in making collections at Nice, met with an accident, fell into the water, and barely escaped with life. All told now heavily upon him, yet his desire to improve and add to his collections was constant; and, when unable any longer to move about, he was to be found examining catalogues and sending commissions to sales, to render complete

those vast accumulations which will serve to hand down his name to posterity with honour and approbation.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY BENEDICT LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR died on the 19th October, 1862, at the age of fifty-eight years, at Wardour Castle, where he resided, and where the Association had the honour of being received by him and his son, the present Lord Arundell, at the Salisbury Congress held in 1858, under the presidency of the Marquis of Ailesbury. Our late Associate succeeded his brother James Everard, ninth lord of Wardour, in June 1834, but never distinguished himself by taking any active part in public matters; indeed, attacks of gout to a certain degree incapacitated him from much exertion; and those who were present at his reception of us, will recollect that it was upon crutches he most kindly conducted us over a part of his grounds.

All in any way acquainted with genealogical history are familiar with the distinction of the families of Arundell, of Lanherne in Cornwall, and Wardour in Wiltshire. Roger Arundell is recorded in Domesday Survey as the possessor of twelve manors in Dorset and twenty-eight in Somerset. Our late Associate was the head of one of our oldest Roman Catholic families, was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and coheir to the barony of Fitzpaine and Kendeston. By three several marriages he was connected with distinguished families, being first married, in 1826, to Lucy, daughter of Hugh P. Smythe, Esq., second son of Sir Edward Smythe of Eske, who died in 1827 without issue; secondly, to Frances Catherine, second daughter of Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart., by which marriage the present Lord Arundell was issue; and thirdly, to Teresa, the daughter of Lord Stourton. The first establishment of the Arundells in Wiltshire, dates from Sir Thomas Arundell, who was the second son of Sir John Arundell by the Lady Eleanor Grey, daughter of Thomas, second Marquis of Dorset, and had been Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Cardinal Wolsey, and created K.B. at the coronation of Ann Boleyn. He married, in 1530, Margaret, the daughter and coheir of Lord Edward Howard, third son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and sister to Queen Catherine Howard. It was in the contest for supremacy between the Protector Somerset and Dudley that Sir Thomas lost his life, he being convicted (temp. Edward VI) and beheaded 26 February, 1552. The castle of Wardour was granted by the Crown to the Earl of Pembroke, but was repurchased by Sir Matthew Arundell, his son, in 1570, and by him greatly improved and adorned. Upon his death, in 1598, Sir Thomas Arundell succeeded to the estate, and in 1605 James I. created him Lord Arundell of Wardour. Sir Thomas had displayed unusual gallantry at an early

age, and served as a volunteer in the imperial army in Hungary. With his own hand he took, in an engagement at Gran, the standard of the Turks, which he sent to Rome, and was created by Rudolph II, Emperor of Germany, a Count of the Sacred Roman Empire. The son of this baron, also, Thomas, his successor, married a lady who stands out conspicuously in British history. She was Blanche, fifth daughter of Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester; and during the absence of her husband, who was with the king at Oxford, in 1643, defended Wardour from an attack by a powerful force under the command of Sir Edward Hungerford. With a little garrison consisting of only twenty-five men she most heroically withstood the onslaught of 1300 soldiers, and a bombardment which lasted during five days. She at length succumbed to such superior force, and having held the castle as long as possible, capitulated on honourable terms; but the Republican leader was false to his engagements, and plundered the mansion of some of its most valuable contents. The castle was afterwards garrisoned by the Parliament, and placed under the command of the celebrated Edmund Ludlow, who, however, in the course of the war was compelled to surrender it to Lord Arundell and Sir Francis Doddington, who had invested it. The effects of the sieges this castle had sustained remain to this day. We had the opportunity of viewing the ruins, and some account of them will be found in our *Journal*.¹ The modern mansion and chapel were also inspected by us, rich in fine works of art and interesting antiquities, specified in our account of the Salisbury Congress.

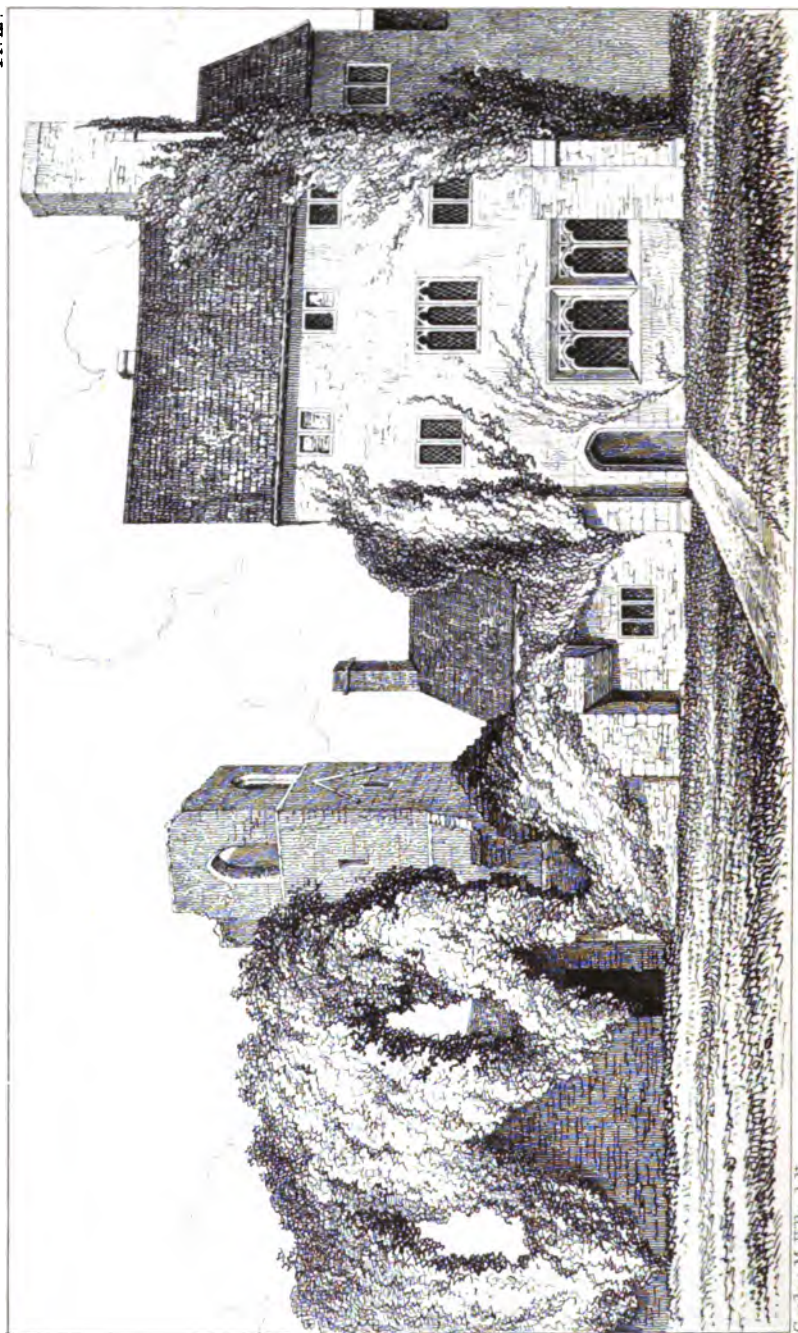
Of the succeeding Lords of Arundell of Wardour it is unnecessary here to speak. The Hon. John Francis Arundell, who also joined our association in 1858, has succeeded to the title and estates of his father. He was married only six days prior to the late lord's decease, to Miss Errington, of Northumberland. I am not without hope that the present lord may be disposed to lay before us some documents relating to his interesting domain. Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., has also some notes not yet published, upon the ruins, which would most appropriately come into the pages of our *Journal*, or in those of the *Collectanea Archaeologica*.

WILLIAM HENRY SLANEY, Esq., of Hatton Hall, Shiffnall, Salop, joined us as an associate during the Shrewsbury congress in 1860. He was the third son of Robert Slaney, Esq., of Hatton Grange, and Mary, daughter of Thomas Mason, Esq., of Shrewsbury. He was a younger and the only surviving brother of the late R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P. for Shrewsbury, whose address upon the opening of the Shropshire congress will be found in the pages of our *Journal*. His family has been

one of consideration in the county for no less than seven centuries; his career was one of marked usefulness, and distinguished by many kindly traits in every relation of life; his habits were unostentatious, and he was much devoted to the pursuit of natural history, and a frequent and most acceptable contributor to the *Zoologist* and other periodicals of that nature. He died on the 25th December last.

JOSEPH FREDERICK LEDSAM, Esq., of Chad Hill, Birmingham, joined our association in 1848, and was well read in antiquities. He attended a few of our meetings, but we have no recorded communication from his pen in our proceedings. He served the office of High Sheriff of his county, and was much esteemed for his general intelligence and the suavity of his manners. He died on the 28th of December, 1862, at the age of seventy-one.





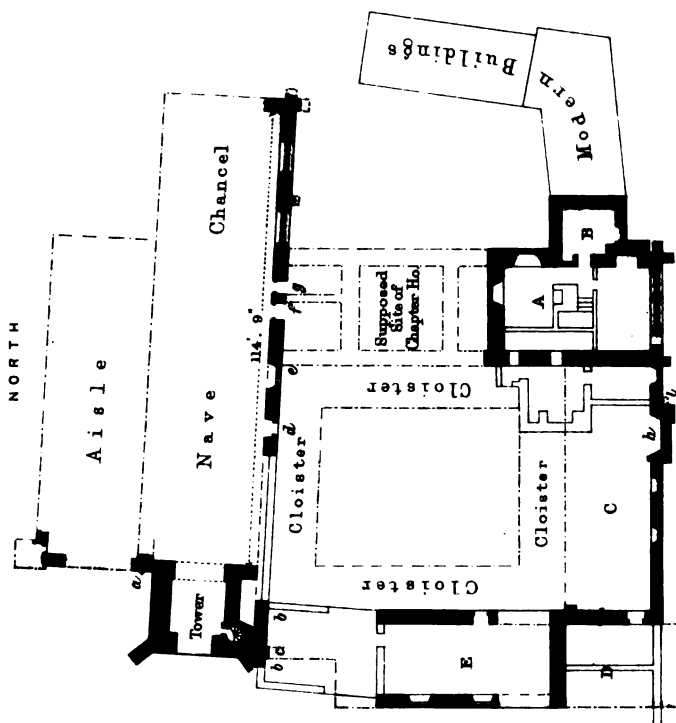
Gordon M. Hills, del.

ULVESCROFT PRIORY. SOUTH VIEW.

J.R. Johnson.

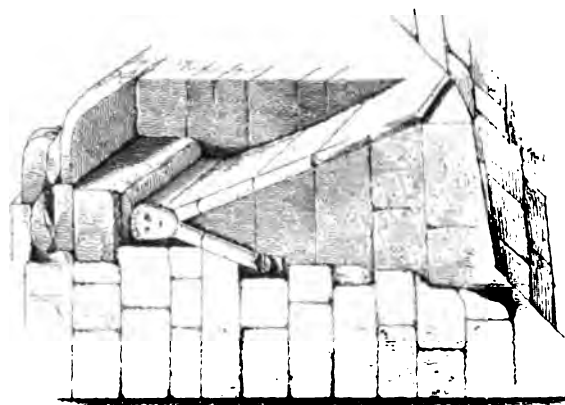


ULVESCROFT PRIORY.



GROUND PLAN.

SCALE OF 10' 20' 30' 40' 50' 100 FEET



Head of Butress.
Part of the work of the Thirteenth Century.
at S.W. corner of Lower.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1863.

ON THE PRIORIES OF ULVESCROFT AND CHARLEY IN LEICESTERSHIRE;

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS OF ULVESCROFT PRIORY.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

WHEN Mr. Nichols wrote his *History of Leicestershire*, more than sixty years ago, he complained that the ruins of Ulvescroft Priory (see plates 12 and 13), by far the most important specimen of monastic architecture remaining in Leicestershire, were almost unnoticed, by antiquaries. The reproach may be extended to our own time; for though, with his accustomed assiduity, he collected and displayed all the historical matter that could be found, the few notices then in print, as well as the more copious information which, in his time existed in public MSS. or in private collections, nothing like an architectural description was then given, nor has it yet been attempted. Imperfect as is the description of the ruins in Mr. Nichols's work, it is yet valuable in several respects. It is enriched by two views of the church, made for him; and by a third, drawn by the "ingenious but unfortunate Mr. Throsby," as he says, who published a work with illustrations of Leicestershire antiquities; and at whose death Mr. Nichols purchased a number of his plates, and added them to his own work. By these means we learn that very little change has occurred in the aspect of the ruins of late years. The visit to them of the Congress of the British Archaeological Association has at last brought them under notice; and it will be my special province to point out the

arrangement of the monastery, of which enough remains to shew almost its complete disposition. The best introduction to this will be a history of the priory. It contains many points of peculiar interest, and bearing upon the nature of the buildings. I propose, therefore, to draw from Nichols, and the other published works which are noticed by him, an account as complete as the materials will afford, and to arrange it in a form suited to my architectural description; by which proceeding it will be found that occasionally new lights will dawn upon some of the incidents. This account of Ulvescroft would be incomplete without the history of Charley Priory.

Ulvescroft Priory, less than a century before its extinction, had united to it the neighbouring priory of Charley. Nichols, following the topographical arrangement on which his books are framed, treats separately of the two places; but Bishop Tanner had previously, in the *Notitia*, adopted the plan of a united account, which much better suits my purpose. I am surprised that this should not have been done in the great *Monasticon* of 1825, where Ulvescroft is dismissed very shortly, with a very slight allusion to Charley, so unimportant that the latter place escapes mention in the index altogether. In the earlier editions of the *Monasticon* this treatment was sufficient for the information at hand; for previous to 1744, when Tanner wrote, the information concerning both places was very scanty. It was, it should also be observed, inaccurate.

Ulvescroft is between seven and eight miles from Leicester, a little off the Loughborough road, and within the bounds of Charnwood Forest. Charley is about two miles beyond it, from Leicester, nearly in the centre of the forest. I regret that I had not the opportunity to seek for traces of buildings at Charley. It seems to be generally understood that no remains of the monastery are to be found; though as the site has not of late been examined, this opinion might very possibly prove incorrect.

Burton, the earliest historian of Leicestershire (writing before 1622), upon whose able work Nichols's *History* forms the superstructure, thought that both Ulvescroft and Charley priories were founded by Robert Blanchmaines, Earl of Leicester, in the time of Henry II, for friars eremites of the order of S. Augustine. By what authority the foundations

were attributed to this nobleman, does not appear. Leland, a hundred years before Burton, had mentioned Ulvescroft in his *Itinerary*; and in his *Collectanea*¹ it is thus noticed: "Welvescrofte Prior. Ord. S. Augustin. Rogerus Qynce comes Leycestriæ fundator primus. Modernus Marchio Dorsette." Dugdale followed Leland, who, for a reason which will hereafter appear, I have little doubt obtained his information from the inmates of Ulvescroft Priory. Stevens, a hundred years after Burton, repeats his account of both places, and ventures to condemn Dugdale as erroneous in respect to Ulvescroft, both as to the order of the monks and the name of the founder. Tanner, shortly after (1744), adopts the accounts of Stevens and Burton; and adds what is certainly true, that Charley belonged at one time, before 1174, to the Benedictine priory of Luffield, founded in 1124, in North Hants, by Robert le Bossu, Earl of Leicester. This is proved by reference to a bull of Pope Alex. III, dated 1174, given in the *Monasticon* amongst the deeds of Luffield Priory. It confirms to that priory its various possessions, and among them specifies "Locum S. Mariæ de Charleiâ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis." The sources of information which he indicates to exist, shew himself and his predecessors, Stevens and Burton on one side, as well as Leland and Dugdale on the other, to be in error as to the founder of Ulvescroft.

Nichols² (1804) prints at full length a bull of Pope Alex. III, dated 1174, which confirms to William, prior of S. Mary of Ulvescroft, and his brethren, the possessions of the priory, viz., "Ulvescroft, in which is placed the church, with other offices," etc., the gift of the Earl of Leicester, with other gifts, and the rights and dignities which the church had enjoyed for *forty years*: "Preterea jura dignitates et libertates illas, quas ecclesia nostra à quadraginta retro annis usque nunc rationabiliter noscitur habuisse vobis et eidem ecclesie auctoritate apostolicâ confirmavimus." These forty years carry the foundation of Ulvescroft back to the time of Robert (nicknamed "le Bossu") Earl of Leicester, from 1118 to 1168, and father of Robert Blanchmaines, who held the earldom from 1168 to 1190. Robert le Bossu, amongst the ablest, most powerful, and most fortunate, of King Stephen's supporters, was thus the founder of Ulvescroft, but not, in the

¹ Vol. i, f. 20.² Vol. iii, p. 1085, orig. Brit. Mus. Cartæ Antiquæ, iii, A. 6.

same sense, of Charley, he having dedicated Charley to his other priory at Luffield. It is probable, however, that even so early as that dedication there was a small monastery there, so the words of the Luffield grant indicate.

His son, Robert Blanchmaines, who lived under Stephen's rival, Henry II, and was subject to much vicissitude and ill fortune, is accepted by all historians as the founder of Charley (I cannot discover on what authority), which he must therefore have divested from his father's house of Luffield. The original gift of Charley to Luffield had this condition annexed by the donor: "Tantum ad edificandum quantum ego convenienter considerabo per consilium amicorum meorum"; which may have afforded occasion or opportunity for the earl to regain control of the estate. Charley Priory could not have been founded so early as 1174, because, as we have seen by the papal bull granted to Luffield, it then belonged to that house under other conditions. The other bull of that year, quoted from the Ulvescroft papers, does not indicate the order to which William, the prior of Ulvescroft, and his brethren belonged, further than that they "professed a regular life"; and that none could assume the office of prior of Ulvescroft, "except elected by common consent of the brethren, according to the rule of the blessed Augustin." The next mention of this priory, and the first mention of Charley Priory as a distinct monastery, occur in the *Matriculus* of Hugh Welles, bishop of Lincoln,—a document drawn up for him in 1220, and shewing the patron and incumbent, or occupancy, of every benefice and church in the archdeaconry of Leicester. All the historians, from Burton, have quoted it, and Nichols has printed it at full length. Of the two priories it states: "Charley. i. Heremitar., patronus comes Wynton ibi solent manere iii fratres."—"Ulviscroft, Heremitarum, patronus comes Wynton ibi solent tres fratres sacerdotes." It is curious that, after producing this document in his introduction, Nichols has quoted it incorrectly in reference to both priories when he comes to speak historically of them.¹ Then, by inserting the word "quondam," he makes it appear that the eremites had already ceased; but the original MS. at the British Museum has not this word.

The mention of eremites in these passages and of the rule of S. Augustine in the papal bull of Ulvescroft has

¹ Vol. iii, pp. 120, 1085.

induced Burton, and all who have written since, to describe the priories as originally for Austin eremites or friars. None of these passages, however, warrant that assumption, the truth being that the order of Austin friars had no existence so early as 1220. The still older order of Austin canons was not fully established, although extensively known, when, about 1134, Ulvescroft was founded, for it was not till 1139 that Innocent II decreed that all regular canons should adopt the rule of S. Augustine. The effect of such a decree would be far from instantaneous; and I regard the mention of the rule of S. Augustine in the bull of Alexander in 1174 as a measure taken to draw the priory into a conformity with the decree of Pope Innocent. The description of the inmates of both priories which the Bishop of Lincoln's *Matriculus* furnishes in 1220 shows decisively that the papal policy had been unsuccessful. Of what order, then, were these eremites or friars? It is impossible to reply precisely. The two great orders of friars, the Franciscan and Dominican, but a few years after their origin, were established by papal bull in 1215 and 1216. The attempt to make all monks Benedictine and all canons Augustine had forced into an open arena alike those who would increase the stringency and those who would relax the austerity and rigour of the dominant orders. So, at this era, a vast number of new brotherhoods started into life, an immense number were settled in a few years under the Franciscan and Dominican rule; but brotherhoods of eremites or friars abounded besides, and were most unwilling to give up their independence. This state of things continued till long after the period to which the *Matriculus* of the Bishop of Lincoln belongs. A vigorous effort was made by Pope Alexander IV, in 1256, to bring these societies under the rule of S. Augustine, but with very partial success. The constitutions of the Austin friars were not finally settled till 1287: indeed, their various rivals were not extinguished till 1567, when Pius V settled the mendicant orders under the four denominations of Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians,—the last taking precedence after all the others.

At the date of the *Matriculus* the line of Robert le Bossu had become extinct, and by marriage of his grand-daughter to Saer de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, the patronage of

the priories had passed to his son Roger de Quincy, the Earl of Wynton of that document. In a deed of benefaction of Roger de Quincy's mother to Ulvescroft Priory, about 1260, the tenants of the convent are addressed as "Walter, prior of Ulvescroft, and the brethren serving God there." The friars were by this time well established in their principal orders; and the term used in this deed, "fratres," which became the peculiar designation of the mendicant orders, has therefore more force on this occasion than in the earlier quotations, marking it as if the priory still retained an eremite character. If so, this character was abandoned very shortly after. On the approach of a settled state in the mendicant orders, the inmates here were forced to decide on their allegiance to some one of the more powerful orders, and hence, in a deed of about 1275, they are described as canons. This is a deed of gift by William first Lord Ferrars of Groby, who had become patron of the priory by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Roger de Quincy. The words of the deed are—"Deo et beate Marie de Ulvescroft et canonicis ibidem." Another grant, by the same benefactor, is to Robert Gaddesby, prior, "et canonicis ibidem." Nichols exhibits two other deeds of the same period by other benefactors, in which "the canons" and "Robert Gaddesby, prior, and the canons" are mentioned. The rule of the regular canons of S. Augustine had therefore at this time been finally accepted.

I see no evidence by which to trace in the same manner the acceptance of this rule at Charley, which, however, I conjecture was brought about at the same time and by the same patron. It is hardly a conjecture to say that this patron was Roger de Quincy, Earl of Leicester from about 1220 to 1270; and it is certain that in later times he was regarded as founder, as Leland's mention shows.

Bishop Tanner alone reports the union of the two priories a few years later, in the reign of Edward II, referring for his authority to the Rental of the Abbey of S. Mary of Leicester, at fol. 34, a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Whatever may be the value of this authority, which I have not seen, it is certain, as he perceived, that no union then occurred, nor till long after. The continued independence of the two and their ultimate union is clearly established by the other authorities indicated by Tanner and quoted by

Nichols. From the commencement I will here put the history into the form of annals :—

A.D. 1134 (*circa*).—Ulvescroft founded forty years before the bull of 1174 already quoted.

1174.—The "*locus*" of Charley confirmed to Luffield Benedictine priory, and therefore Charley priory not founded till later. William, prior of Ulvescroft at this time, as mentioned in the papal bull.

1220.—Ulvescroft and Charley priories both existing, and inhabited in each case by three brethren of the eremites. Roger de Quincy patron of both priories.

1271.¹—Shortly before this Roger de Quincy died, and his widow now held the advowson of both priories in dower.²

1275 (*circa*).—William de Ferrars having become patron of both priories, Ulvescroft, under Robert de Gaddesby, prior, was occupied by canons, as seen in the four deeds already quoted. William de Ferrars, as early as 1271, gave to Charley³ land adjoining the brook then (and now) called Black brook to enlarge the courtyard of the priory, the gift being confirmed by the king the next year.⁴

1279.—The priory of Charley held four virgates of land at Stanton under Bardon.⁵

1304.—John of Normanton elected Prior of Ulvescroft, permission being first had of Sir Wm. Lord Ferrars of Groby.⁶

1306.—Charley Priory had a confirmation from Alan la Zouch of the gifts of William de Ferrars of 1271.⁷

1309.—William de Segrave was elected Prior of Charley, as stated in the Register of D'Alderby, Bishop of Lincoln at that time, permission being first had of the patron, Sir Wm. Lord Ferrars of Groby.

1319.—From the same authority it appears that another election of prior took place at Charley. And this, as do the following, controverts the authority of the Bodleian MS., which makes the union to have occurred about this time.

1344.—The Prior of Ulvescroft appears at this time as patron of Sitheston church in the deanery of Goscote, and the Prior of Charley as having in his own use Radcliff church in the same deanery.⁸

¹ Charytes Rentale, fol. 34.

² Esch. 53 Hen. III. No. 36, Leic.

³ Esch. 53 Hen. III. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Rot. Pat. I Ed. I.

⁶ Reg. d'Alderby.

⁷ Esch. 34 Ed. I. No. 187.

⁸ Rot. Eccles. Leic. Harl. MSS., 6700

1346.—The Prior of Charley was assessed five shillings on an aid to the king.¹

1361.—William de Ferrars and Bennet de Ulvescroft were benefactors to that priory, and another William de Ferrars in 1369.² This nobleman had then just inherited the patronage of the priories from his father, William, third Lord Ferrars of Groby, who, in 1368,³ was buried in the church of our Lady of Ulvescroft, and bequeathed £100 to be given to the poor and for his funeral expenses, and appointed for the ceremony to be used five tapers, four morters, and twenty-four torches.

1371.—William, the fourth Lord Ferrars of Groby, died seized of the advowsons of both priories;⁴ and in 1382⁵ Henry de Ferrars held the advowson of Ulvescroft. At his death, 1387, it was proved that he held the advowson of Charley. His widow, Joan, held it in 1393.⁶

1383.—Richard Hatley became Prior of Charley by presentation of the king, as guardian of the lands of Henry de Beaumont, deceased, owner of the lordship of Charley.⁷

1444 or 1445.—William, fifth and last Lord Ferrars of Groby of this line, died seized of both advowsons, and bequeathed his body to be buried in the priory of Ulvescroft. His grand-daughter and heiress married Edward de Grey, knight, who succeeded to the patronage of the priories.⁸

1457.—This Edward de Grey of Groby, Lord Ferrars, died seized of both advowsons;⁹ and from the record we learn the comparative poverty of Charley. The advowson of Ulvescroft was valued at ten marks, and that of Charley at five marks.

1465.—In this year the union of the two priories took place; the poverty of one of them probably led to this event. The union was effected by Sir John Bourghier, knight, and Elizabeth his wife, grand-daughter of the last William Lord Ferrars, and formerly wife of Edward de Grey. It is thus recorded in the "*Liber Memorandum Johannis Chedworth episcopi Lincoln*," at p. 95:—"Uniuertur appropriantur et annectantur prioratus de Charley et

¹ Rot. Aux., 20 Edw. III.

² Inquis. ad quod Dampn., 34, 42 Ed. III. MS. Chetwynd.

³ Dugdale's Baronage.

⁴ Esch. 45 Ed. III. No. 22, Leic.

⁵ Esch. 2 Ric. II. No. 26, Leic.

⁶ Pat. 6, Ric. II, p. 1.

⁷ Esch. 23 Hen. VI.

⁸ Dugdale's Baronage.

⁹ Esch. 36, Hen. VI.

de Ulvescroft de consensu patroni viz. Johannis Bourghier militis et domine Elizabethi uxoris ejus, heredis domini de Ferrars de Groby ; dat. 5 Nov. 5 Edw. IV ; de consensu etiam Willielmi Witham LL.D. archidiaconi archidiaconis annuali pensione 3s. 4d. pro indemnitate dicti prioratus de Charley per priorem et conventum de Ulvescroft et successores suos annuatim solvendum." It appears from the Register of Leicester Abbey that the priory of Ulvescroft at this time entered into a composition with that abbey for the tithes of sheaves and hay of certain land in the parish of Barrow, which, since 1307, the priory of Charley had rented of that abbey at 6s. 8d. per annum. In the year following the union, John Whatton appears as Prior of Ulvescroft, and quit claimed to the abbey of Leicester all his rights in the lands of Oldfield and Longwing, part of the possessions of Charley. No other incident is recorded until the dissolution, except in

1525.—Geoffrey Whalley was Prior of Ulvescroft, as appears by a lease granted to him by King Henry VIII.¹

The church at Charley was maintained and mass celebrated there by one of the canons of Ulvescroft down to the suppression. This event was attended with many interesting incidents, of which we have very full particulars. It will now, however, be convenient to survey the buildings at Ulvescroft, and to point out some features which are connected with the history already given, endeavouring to show what parts are wanting of its complete state.

The priory stands in a deep valley. A brook flows past it from north to south on the west side, not many yards from the abbey walls. Burton (1622) calls it "a dearne and solitary place" in the forest ; and Leland, who visited the district a little before the extinction of the priory, describes its position thus:—"This forest" (Charnewood), "communely called the wast, is a xx miles or more in cumpace, and the most part of it at this longgith to the Marquis of Dorsete, the residew to the king and Earl of Huntingdune. In this forest there is no good toune, nor scant a village. Asscheby de la Zouch, a market toune, Whitwick castle and village, Lughborow market, and Wolvescroft Priorie joynith on the very borders of it."

In this lonely situation a strong defence appears to have

been a necessity, and accordingly the priory is placed within a walled enclosure—a parallelogram oblong from north to south, with the angles rounded off. Along much of the east side, all the south, and parts of the west, the wall remains. The low ground along the west side of the enclosure, between it and the brook, appears to have been formed into a lake or series of ponds, which came up to the wall. Outside the wall in the remainder of the circumference was a deep and wide moat, most of which, in a more or less perfect condition, yet remains. The moat terminated at, and opened into, the ponds at the north-west and south-west angles of the enclosure; it was crossed by a bridge somewhere in the north-east part, where it has since been filled up for the extension of modern farm buildings. There is a modern, but not a new bridge at the centre of the east side.

The fall of the ground and natural drainage of the site is towards the west and south, and this circumstance fixed the position of the church on the north side of the domestic buildings of the convent (*see ground-plan, plate 13*). Completely surrounded by water as this was, the necessity for observing the natural direction of the drainage might have been thought less imperative than usual; but, in all probability, as the fishponds engaged the whole west side of the grounds, and the water supply came in at the north, the sewage was carried away directly to the south, and so clear of, and below the ponds to the brook, which was regarded as the only direction it could take. In this instance I did not hear the story which usually connects itself with the abbey sewer, of an underground passage leading to some notable site of the neighbourhood, to Groby Castle it might be here, so that I am left wholly to conjecture as to the line of the main sewer of the priory. The church consisted of a west tower, a nave, and chancel, without any arch dividing them, and a north aisle. There was no south aisle, the domestic buildings abutting on that side against the nave itself. The tower remains of its full height, and is a handsome and imposing structure. The south wall of the nave and chancel is nearly perfect, except for a large breach, now filled with a thin modern wall in its western part. The east wall of the church is destroyed, except a fragment at the south-east angle. The arcade, which

opened to the north aisle from the nave, is utterly destroyed, though, as the ground is raised three or four feet above the floor level, the bases of the pillars would probably be easily found by excavation. The north aisle is destroyed, at least above the present ground, except fragments of its west end.

These remains of the church are almost wholly of Perpendicular or "third pointed" date. They are of good design and execution, and belong probably to the commencement of the reign of King Richard II, about the time of the patronage of Henry de Ferrars.

The chancel was lighted by two noble windows on its south side: their tracery is unfortunately destroyed, except the fragments worked with the arch stones, which show that the work had not yet entered the completely straight and vertical manner of the Perpendicular style. The curtain arches of both windows are fringed with cusps, the jambs have moulded shafts, and are enriched with a series of small quatrefoil panelling, which covers their splays, and extends on to the soffits of the arches. Beneath the eastern of the two windows are the sadly mutilated remains of a very rich triple sedilia and a piscina. The four recesses were divided by delicate buttresses and pinnacles, and hooded with elaborate canopies of tabernacle work and miniature vaulting, the nature of which may yet be distinctly perceived.

Above these two fine windows is the clerestory, which extended in one uninterrupted length and uniform design from end to end of the nave and chancel—an uncommon arrangement, but one which must have conferred a surprising dignity upon the small dimensions of this church. The clerestory was divided into seven bays. One bay is destroyed, being absorbed in the breach spoken of in the western part of the south wall. Six windows therefore remain, but only to the height of their jambs, as the window heads and the whole of the upper part of the clerestory wall has been destroyed. In "Buck's View," made in 1730, some fragments of the window heads and some of the mullions appear, which show that the windows were of four lights, and of purely Perpendicular character, a little later than the chancel windows. Between the clerestory windows there yet remain the corbels upon which the principal timbers of the roof were borne. These are carvings of angels holding shields, upon which are the seven masques borne by

de Quincy and Ferrars, quartered with the shields of other houses. The tower opened to the west end of the nave by a lofty arch, which has been mostly despoiled of its masonry, and there was a large west window and a west door: a breach has been made destroying the latter, and absorbing the lower part of the former. The weathering yet remains where the nave roof abutted against the east side of the tower in its middle stage: the upper stage of the tower is lighted by four good two-light Perpendicular windows.

Of the north aisle, the fragment at the north-west corner is part of a stair-turret, in which remains the head of a small door, with a four-centered arch, apparently of much later Perpendicular work than what has been before described: it is the only instance of a four-centered arch in the church. The wall itself contains some fragments of decorated (fourteenth century) work built into it. From this, and its connection with the tower at the point *a* (see plan), it is evident that the north aisle was a late addition to the church. An angular projection, as shown in the plan, is noticeable at this point, which was part of an angular buttress upon the north-west corner of the nave when the church had no aisle. The separation of work between this buttress and the later aisle wall is very perceptible. The older north wall of the nave would seem to have been of the same age as the tower. Buck's View shows that in 1730 the north side of the nave and chancel was not standing; but I conclude from it, although it is not very distinct on this point, that the north and west walls of the aisle were then in existence, the west wall having a large breach where the window had been.

From these remains we can form a pretty accurate idea of the church in its later days. A lofty tower opening into the long, lofty, and unbroken vista of the nave and chancel, with an arcade on the north side, and a spacious aisle; the clerestory extending along the upper part of the church on both sides; the architecture florid and rich, with Perpendicular ornament. But there are interesting features of a much earlier date. I have mentioned evidence of earlier work in the fragments built into the north aisle. In the west end of the nave-wall, for its whole height, and in the bottom part for most of its length, are remains of Early English or thirteenth century work. The piece of wall at *bb* is wholly of this date.

It is much concealed by the modern shed and by the Perpendicular tower; but on close examination it proves to be terminated westward by an early buttress. The buttress has a beautifully wrought though simple canopied top, which peers out above the roof of the shed, and emerges from the mass of the turret built afterwards at that corner of the tower. It is distinctly seen when viewing the west side of the tower outside. (See pl. 13.) This partially hidden buttress seems to have been at the south corner of the west end of the earlier church. The Perpendicular tower, as exhibited on the plan, stands therefore within the nave of the older building. The north wall of the older nave, at this part, was taken down and cleared away when the tower was built; but the south one, having certain of the domestic buildings of the convent abutting against it on the other side, could not be got rid of. The tower was made narrower than the nave; and thus a nook, three feet wide, was left between it and the older wall,—a nook which has given rise to much unfounded speculation. Some have supposed it to be a set of penitential cells or prisons, or *inclusoria* of some sort; whereas it is a merely accidental arrangement, and was treated as useless space in its lower and upper parts; whilst in the middle of its height it formed a passage from the upstairs floor of the domestic building adjoining, lighted at its east end by a little loop from the church itself; and at its west end having a door into the turret, seven feet from the church floor, and so a descent into the church. At *c* the wall of the domestic buildings sprang from the side of the church, as may still be seen. The doors at *d* and *f* are both of the Early English period. The first is well moulded, in two orders, and opened into the cloister; the second is more simple, and opened into a sacristy. At *e* is a two-light Early English window much mutilated. It is placed high enough to permit the cloister roof to pass under it outside: possibly a companion to it has been destroyed where the wall is broken down on the other side of the door, *d*. At *g* is a Perpendicular door,—an insertion, perhaps when the sacristy may have been divided in two.

The insertion of the tower late in the fourteenth century, may possibly have arisen from the construction of the earlier church without any tower at all; and so may be connected with the history of the change of the monastery from eremites

to canons. I have shewn that it was a church of eremites into the period of Roger de Quincy's patronage (1220 to 1270); and it seems highly probable, from the mention of the Augustinian rule in the Papal Bull of 1174 (when it is certain the inmates were not canons), that they affected to be Augustinian eremites or friars. In later days—that is to say, 1287 and subsequently—when the constitutions of those friars were settled, they were prohibited from building church towers. This prohibition was, no doubt, founded on the still earlier practice of some of the disjointed brotherhoods who finally united to form the order of Austin friars. It was continued and observed by the order with great strictness, to the suppression of the monasteries in England; and the *Orbis Augustinianus Eremitarum*, of Friar Lubin, affords a large series of views of their monasteries, by which it is apparent that abroad, and down to the time of his publication in 1659, it was in full force.

The domestic buildings of Ulvescroft Priory enclosed three sides of a quadrangle, of which the church formed the fourth on the north. The east side of the quadrangle, which contained the sacristies next the church, and then probably the chapter house, and next a cross-passage from the cloister into the private gardens of the convent, is so far entirely destroyed; and there remains of it only its southern extremity at A, the parlour, or day-room of the canons. Over the whole of this range extended, at its southern part, the dormitory, and nearer to the church, the library. It is not improbable that one of the doors (*f* or *g*) had some communication with this upper floor, for the entry to the church of the canons engaged in the night services. The projection (*B*) was part of the more private offices. The marks where this wing was attached to the church are still visible upon the church wall. At *c* was the refectory, of which one side is entirely destroyed; but the other parts are nearly perfect. It filled the whole south side of the quadrangle. Whatever the building may have been at *D*, it is entirely destroyed. From a window being placed high up in that end of the refectory, it seems to have been low, and was probably the kitchen, and had a bakery and brewery attached. A door led from the refectory into it. The west side of the quadrangle retains the central part of its buildings only. The part which adjoined the church was narrower than the

central part, as the mark at *c* on the church wall proves. Here must have been the entrance to the cloister court; and it had some chamber over it for the accommodation of the porter, which communicated, as I have before pointed out, with the turret in the tower, and thence into the church. The building (*E*) retains an oak roof of great antiquity, and no doubt coeval with the occupation of the monastery. It has in the south wall one two-light window of Early English date, and the remains of another. It appears to have been a guest-hall, and must have been for the use by day and night of the humble wayfarers who would visit this forest asylum. Of the cloister-walk which went round the inside of this quadrangle, the only traces left are the string-courses which capped its lean-to roofs upon the walls of the building *E*, and of the church over the door *d*, and a few of the corbels upon which the timbers rested. The arcading of the front of the cloister has wholly disappeared; and I can only wish that the opportunity might occur of excavating its site, when doubtless the base of this interesting member would be brought to light. The ground is considerably raised above its proper level, and this area is now the farm-yard. The building *E* is used as a barn, two large breaches having been made in its sides for the modern doors, and its north end reduced in length and walled up with modern masonry. The farmhouse itself, occupying the parlour (*A*), has much changed its form and appearance, and one story has been added to its height; yet much of these alterations evidently belong to a period just before the suppression. The solid walls are of the Early English period. The refectory (*c*) is much encumbered by farm offices. It is sixty-five feet long. In the recess at *h* were the steps to the pulpit; the pulpit itself was over the solid part of the wall, and corbelled over outside at *l*. It was described to me as standing in very perfect condition a few years ago. Nothing but its base now remains. The south end of the refectory is Early English, but the side is Perpendicular work. The three windows were good of that date, with pointed arches; the tracery is destroyed.

That all these offices must have remained as long as the priory was inhabited, is shewn in the concluding chapter of its history. Here, as will be seen, eyewitnesses testify to the reception of guests and the great hospitality exercised; to

the industry of the canons in furnishing their library with books; to the extent of the kitchen, bakery, and brewery; and to the use of the chapter house at the last assembly held of the canons. The fortified enclosure contains space for the stabling and farm-offices, which have been superseded.

The union with its neighbour did not raise Ulvescroft Priory to the rank of a wealthy convent; accordingly when, in 1534, the commission for the suppression of all monasteries of less than £200 a year was in operation, this one (valued, according to Dugdale, at £83 : 10 : 6½; and according to Speed, at £101 : 3 : 10½) was visited, Edward Dalby being prior. The commissioners, who were little inclined to mitigate reports of evil, were struck with the good order of the house and the pious lives of its inmates. A letter from one of them to Sir Thos. Cromwell is printed by Nichols, in which, with a view of interesting Cromwell to use in favour of this house, the dispensing power which the act of Parliament permitted to the king at his discretion, the writer, George Gyfford, thus graphically shews the manners of its inmates :

“The governor is a very good husband of the house, and well beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoining; a right honest man; having eight religious persons, being priests of right good conversation, and living religiously, having sincere qualities of virtue as we have not found the like in no other place; for there is no one religious person there, but he can and doth use either embrothering or writing books with a very fair hand, making their own garments, carving, painting, or graff-yng; the house without any slander or evil fame, and standing in a waste ground, very solitary; keeping such hospitality that, except by singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half so much more land as they may spend; such a number of poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seen the like having no more land than they have.”

The appeal obtained a respite; and in Jany. 1536-7, by letters patent of the king, the house of the Holy Trinity (the only instance of this dedication being mentioned) and of the Blessed Mary of Alwayscroft, or Olvescroft, was refounded for canons of S. Augustine; and the prior, Edward Dolby, and such religious persons as had not separated from it since the passing of the act, were appointed to continue as prior and canons. This, of course, was of short effect, for in 1537 came the Act for the extinction of all the monasteries.

Besides the touching description of Master George Gyfford,

we have from the mouth of one of the canons, Thomas Massey, the sub-prior, and from certain servants of the convent, some interesting particulars of their daily life.

THOMAS MASSEY, sub-prior, was forty-six years of age at the time of the suppression. He came to the priory at the age of fourteen years, and was there two years and a half before he professed. He was called upon to testify as to certain rights which the priory exercised in the neighbouring forest, and therefore the account to be drawn from his evidence is very secular; but, with the account of George Gyfford, makes a very perfect picture of the life of the canons. The priors, during all the time that Thomas Massey was there, kept hounds, greyhounds, and hawks of their own, and did hunt, course, and hawk, throughout the waste of Charnewood unto the *saulte* of the parks of Bradgate, Groby, and Loughborough, fallow deer, roe, foxes, hares; and did hawk at partridges and pheasants; and for those purposes kept a huntsman. They exercised common rights throughout the forest, for the whole year, for the pasture of oxen, kine, sheep, goats, horses, and swine; and at the first survey, before the surrender of the priory, they had there three hundred head of beasts, a thousand sheep, and sixty swine, with a shepherd and swineherd, who did nothing else but follow and look to the cattle.

ROBERT CONYNGHAM, afterwards of Horsepool Grange, in the county of Leicester, gentleman, was servant in the priory for seven years. He knew of no wood sold by the prior, for reason that the whole topwood and underwood of that part of the forest which belonged to the prior was scarcely sufficient for the kitchen, brewhouse, bakehouse, and other offices of the house, and the hedging of the closes.

HUGH POOLE, afterwards a yeoman of the neighbouring parish of Markfield, was forty-nine years old at the dissolution, and was servant and cellarer at the priory both under Prior Whalley and Prior Dalby. He had killed many fallow deer in the forest, but the priors would not permit the red deer to be killed, and frequently had hawked at heathcock and pheasants.

So great was the expenditure of wood in chambers, kitchen, and offices, and in baking and brewing ("divers times ten quarters a week"), that from four to eight loads of wood and furze, as much as kept seven persons constantly at work.

selling, were daily brought to the priory, as testified by Thomas Taylor, ten years wainman at the priory; and Wm. Syson, who was sixty-three years old at the dissolution, and had been successively carter, baker, and brewer, at the house.

These testimonies shew the considerable numbers of which the household of the convent consisted. The canons who signed the act of surrender, are seven in number, besides the prior. The commissioner testifies to the number of guests who frequented the house; and that these were not always of the common sort, is seen by the evidence of the old baker and brewer, who related that at one time, about the year 1518, the Lady Elinor, wife to the Marquis of Dorset, lay there: when, in consequence of the great consumption of wood, they had permission to fell from the forest of the marquis. The size of the buildings does, indeed, appear inadequate to such requirements; and we may join in the astonishment of Master Gyfford at the excellence of the management which effected so much.

When the dissolution came, the last act of the convent must have been sad enough. On September 15, 1539, the prior and canons came into their chapter-house, and there, before John London, clerk, one of the king's commissioners, produced the deed of surrender duly signed, and acknowledged it as their deed. The signatures to it are Edward Dalby, prior, and Thomas Wymondeswold, Richard Eylott, William Smythe, Thomas Mason, William Belton, William Eland, and George Smythe, canons. One at least, Thomas Massey, the sub-prior, for some unexplained cause, did not sign. He relates that at this time he had charge of the deeds of the priory, that he had kept and perused them, and that the canons had a special grant from "Roger th' erle of Quincy," lord of Groby, of their forest rights. The grant of this patron is the only one mentioned on this occasion, and must have been regarded as very important and conclusive; hence it would seem that the name of Roger de Quincy was well known at that time as a patron of the house, and so probably was assumed to be the founder, as Leland reports. William Bampkyn, a servant at the priory from eight years old, knew that a deed, probably the same mentioned by Massey, had once been produced, he having carried it, accompanying Prior Whalley, to the Marquis of Dorset, whereby the Marquis was induced to admit the claims of the canons to

Besides ..

hunt in the forest ; and he adds that the prior and all the canons, except Sir Thomas Massey, Sir Thomas Mason, and Sir Richard Eylott, were common hunters.

Of Charley, the last we hear in the monastic state is from Thomas Massey, the sub-prior of Ulvescroft, who celebrated mass there sixteen years upon Easter day.

For this valuable insight into the daily life of the actors we are indebted to an Inquisition made April 1st, 1558, by the procuration of the lay owner of the property of the late priory, with a view to define and establish its rights against the encroachments of the Duke of Suffolk and other adjacent owners.

After the dissolution, the late prior Dalby lived for a year at Charley, and farmed the land there, where, as Richard Conyngham says, was a capital messuage, I suppose, the remains of the monastery alongside of the church in which Massey had performed mass. At the end of a year Dalby returned to Ulvescroft, and farmed there till his death.

Massey, at his departing out of the priory upon its surrender, left all the deeds and grants of the priory in several boxes and coffers with the king's commissioners, Dr. London, Master George Gyfford, and Robert Burgoine. Robert Conyngham says they were left there by the commissioners ; and about a year after, when Dalby came back to Ulvescroft, both Massey and Conyngham knew that the chests were found broken open, and many of the deeds spoiled and broken, scattered and destroyed. Afterwards the lay owner, having a dispute with the Duke of Suffolk as to some of his rights, caused Prior Dalby and Sir William Eland, one of the canons, to search the evidences, and to have some of them copied in English on to paper ; and after the death of Dalby, Robert Conyngham having become farmer and also collector to the king of the rents of the priory, gathered up the residue of the writings, and so had and kept them down to the time of his then testifying in 1558.

Pensions were granted to the expelled canons as follows : —To Edward Dalby, prior, £20. To Thomas Mason and William Belton, £6 each. To Thomas Massey, sub-prior, Richard Eglatt, and William Eland, £5 : 13 : 4 each. To William Smythe, £5 : 6 : 8, and to Henry Smythe, 40s. In 1553 Massey, Eland, Eglatt, and both the Smythes were still in the receipt of their pensions.

ON THE PARISH CHURCH OF WYKE, NEAR WINCHESTER.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, ESQ.

NESTLED in a sheltered hollow, on the right hand side of the turnpike-road leading to Salisbury, and within the easy distance of a mile from the city of Winchester, stands a small church of a plain and rude exterior, constructed of rough flints and chalk, and consisting of only a chancel and nave, with a wooden bellcot at the west end of its gable. This is the parish church of Wyke, dedicated to St. Matthew the apostle and evangelist.¹ It was rebuilt at the close of the fifteenth century, and apparently with either the old materials, or with portions of two neighbouring churches. The chancel arch is, to all appearance, a piece of Early English work, rather early in the style; an equilateral arch with flat soffits and chamfered edges. The east window of the chancel is a square-headed Perpendicular window of three lights, with cusps, within a four-centered arched splay. In the glazing of this window are a few fragments of late Perpendicular glass, among which may be enumerated four circular pieces with the evangelistic emblems, a portion of a figure beautifully drawn, a piece or two of canopy work, and a few quarries. A plain Norman doorway exists on the south side of the nave, and forms the only entrance to the church. The remainder of the building (the windows of the chancel and nave) are decidedly debased, with square-headed frames and splays. In the south respond of the chancel-arch exists a square-headed opening, or squint, cut in an oblique direction,

¹ The parish lies partly within and partly without the boundaries of the city of Winchester, and comprises 1,080 acres, 3 roods, and 33 perches in extent. The Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral are lords of the manor, and the owners of 889 acres, 2 roods, and 5 perches. Winchester College are the proprietors of 68 acres and 24 perches. The Tegg Down estate, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, is tithe free, and assessed at 429 acres, 1 rood, and 15 perches. 620 acres, 1 rood, and 11 perches, are titheable: of which 446a., 3r., 16p., are arable; 36a., 2r., 2p., meadow and pasture; 8a., 2r., 8p., woodland; 16a., 32p., sites of buildings; 112a., 20p., down and common land; and 15p. as roads. The roads and wastes of the parish amount to 22a. and 17p.; the churchyard, 16p.; and the glebe land, 2a. 28p. In 1844 the tithe commutation charge was assessed at £265 13s. The population of the parish at the last census (1861) was 392, exclusive of the 137 inmates of the Union Poor House situated in this parish.

in such a manner as to indicate that the nave must have been wider than at present, or the existence of a south aisle. A few encaustic tiles still remain, of a pattern similar to those in St. Cross church, near Winchester, as well as in a few other churches in the immediate neighbourhood; a circular pattern completed by four tiles, forming a compartment eighteen inches square, the portion of the outer circle of each tile being inscribed with the words *habe mynd*.

Previous to the Reformation, besides the customary rood-loft with the statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, there were in this church figures of St. Anastasius (brought probably from the church of that name), of the Blessed Virgin (which probably came from the Church of the Valleys), of St. Christopher, and of St. Matthew.

In former days, that is to say, as far back as the ecclesiastical records of the diocese extend, viz. *temp.* Edward I, it was called the Chapel of Wyke, and was dependent upon the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys. In the invaluable list of "all the churches and chapels in the bishopric of Winchester," drawn up by that gifted and learned bishop, John de Pontissara, who held the see of Winchester from A.D. 1282, till his decease in 1304, there are named in succession, the Chapel of Wyke, the Chapel of Walle, and the Chapel of St. Anastasius.¹ The Ecclesiastical Taxation of Pope Nicholas the Fourth, A.D. 1290, records: "The Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valley, with Chapel of Wyke, taxed at £10."² In 1304 I find it mentioned as "the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valley near Winchester, with Chapel of Wyke adjoining to the same."³ At the parliament held at Westminster in the fourteenth year of Edward III (A.D. 1340), a subsidy was granted to the king, of the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf. Assessors and venditors were appointed for every county in England: the abbot of Beaulieu, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Richard de Beauf,

¹ "Capella de Wyke. Capella de Walle. Capella [Sancti] Anastasii."

² "Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Valle cum capellâ de Wyke, £10." In Bishop Pontissara's "*List of all the Churches in the Bishopric of Winchester, which the Bishop has the right of conferring, with the annual value of the same Churches, according to the true value*," there are enumerated: "The church of the Blessed Mary of the valley, xij. marks. The church of St. Anastasius, iiij. marks." I will here remark that the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV includes only such benefices as were of more than the yearly value of six marks,

³ "Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Vallibus juxta Wintoniam cum capellâ de Wyke eidem adjacente."

Roger de Tichebourn, Henry de Wells, the abbot of Tichfield, and Henry de Hoo, were nominated for the county of Hants; and their return as to the value of the said ninth, made in the 15th Edward III, contains,—“*The parish of St. Mary of the Valleys with the chapel of Wyke.*” The names of the men of the same parish, John atte Felde, Roger le Swon, Hugh Crompe, Henry Purs, being sworn, upon their oath say that the ninth of the sheaves, fleeces, and lambs, of the aforesaid parish of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys, with the Chapel of Wyke, was worth in the aforesaid fourteenth year twenty-six shillings and eight pence. And they say that the said ninth could not amount to the tax of the aforesaid church; for this, that the remainder of the said tax consists in tithes of teazles and of madder, and in other small tithes, which is worth by the year nine pounds.”

In the time of Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester from A.D. 1405 to 1447, this church and chapel were united to the parish church of St. Anastasius, which was henceforth designated as “the parish church of St. Anastasius, near Winchester, together with the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys, and the Chapel of Wyke annexed to the said church of St. Anastasius.”¹ As for the church of St. Anastasius, I have already noticed that it occurs in Bishop Pontissara’s list as the “chapel of Saint Anastasius.” In 1306 it is spoken of as the “church of St. Anastasius without the walls of the city of Winchester”; in 1324, the “church of St. Anastasius without the Westgate”; and in 1349, as the “parish church of St. Anastasius in the suburb the city of Winchester.”² “The Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valley, with the Chapel of Wyke,” occurs in a return

¹ “*Ecclesia parochialis Sancti Anastasii prope Wyntoniam, una cum ecclesiâ Beatæ Mariæ de Vallibus et capellâ de Wyke eidem ecclesiæ Sancti Anastasii annexis.*”

² This church was situated in the field just beyond where the South-Western railway crosses the Stockbridge road, nearly opposite the Union Poor House. The Milner says “that many skeletons have been dug up upon this spot; and prop’ly ago, in improving the adjoining road, two earthen chalices, such as the Dried with priests, were discovered.” (*History of Winchester*, by the perches. v. Dr. Milner. 2nd edition, 4to. Winton, 1802. Vol. ii, pp. 186, 303.) 16p., are pg return in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum* (A.D. 1341), refers, I believe, 16a., 32p., of St. Anastasius. “THE PARISH OF FULFLOUDE.—The names as roads. If the same parish, Nicholas de Shirefeld, Richard de Blodone, churchyard, 1de, William Mott, being sworn; upon their oath say that the charge was asseves, fleeces, and lambs, of the aforesaid parish of Fulflood, is census (1861) was said fourteenth year five shillings, and not worth more in situated in this pap’ the support of one chaplain by the year.”

made by Dr. Peter Courtenay, bishop of Winchester, dated Dec. 29, 1491, of all the benefices within the archdeaconry of Winchester, not exceeding in value twelve marks *per ann.*

In the time of Dr. Thomas Langton, who held the see of Winchester from A.D. 1493 to 1501, these churches were not only in a ruinous state, but the parish of St. Anastasius was almost destitute of parishioners; and a change was effected by the conversion of the Chapel of Wyke into a rectory, and the other churches were pulled down. It was now called "the parish church of Wyke near Winchester,"¹ and its first rector was Sir Matthew Fox, who was collated and instituted to it by Bishop Langton on the 24th December, 1493, and swore canonical obedience to the bishop on the same day at Wolvesey Palace. It was during his incumbency that the present church was erected and consecrated; and for the name of its titular saint we are in all probability indebted to this rector.² On 17 June, 1500, Sir Matthew Fox was collated by the same bishop to the rectory of Michelmersh, near Romsey, co. Hants. He thereupon resigned the rectory of Wyke,³ and on the same day Bishop Langton collated Sir William Atkinson to the said rectory of the parish church of Wyke. Bishop Langton had collated, on the 17th of October preceding, this Sir William Atkinson to the mastership of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen near Winchester. He continued to hold this, together with his rectory of Wyke, until the time of his death, which appears to have occurred in January 1541-2. His will reads as follows, in which it will be seen that he does not forget either his

¹ "Ecclesia parochialis de Wyke juxta Wintoniam."

² This church has hitherto been called *St. Mary's* of Wyke. No perfect or reliable list has yet appeared of the titular saints of the parish churches and chapels in this county. The list given in Ecton's *Thesaurus*, and in Bacon's *Liber Regis*, is so inaccurate as to be worse than useless; yet as it is continually followed, and regarded as of authority, it may seem somewhat presumptuous for me to step out of this beaten track. William Wadde, in his will, dated May 7, 1507, directs his body "to be buried in the cemetery of the Blessed Matthew of Wyke." John Pernyll, whose will is dated September 20, 1508, says: "My body to be buried in the cemetery of the church of St. Matthew of Wyke.....Also I geve and bequeath to the light of St. Anastasius, in the church of St. Matthew of Wyke, a ewe sheep." On the 21 May, 1518, the will of Richard Harfew, "My body to be buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Matthew of Wyke"; and "Stephen Complyn of the parish of Wyke" (will dated April 25, 1543) says: "I bequeth to the hye alter of Saint Mathy, my parysche church, xij*d*."

³ He also resigned a few days previous to his collation to Michelmersh, the rectory of Wickham, co. Hants, to which he had been instituted on 16 March, 1497-8, on the presentation of Sir William Uvedale, Knight.

parishioners of Wyke, or the inmates of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital :

"IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The vth daye of Februnarye in the yere of our lorde God a m^o v^o and xxxix. I Syr Wylliam Atkinson preste, Master of the hospitall of Saynt Marie Magdalenes beasyde Winchester, beyng in goode and perfycte mynde and memory make my testament and laste wyll under the maner and forme followinge. Fyrst I gyve and bequethe my soulle unto Almyghtie God and our blessed lady Sainte Marie the virgyn, and all the saintes in heven, and also to the suffrages and prayers of holy churche, and my body to be buried in holy grounde. Item I geve and bequethe to the mother churche of Sainte Swithune iij^s. iiij^d. Item I geve and bequethe unto a preste to say masses and other suffrages and prayers for the welthe of my soulle and my friends soules and those soules whiche I am moste bounde to praye for, with all christian soules vj^l. sterlinge by the space of a yere. Item I geve and bequethe to my nephewe John Atkinson my brother Thomas' sonne vj. poundes sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe to the same John Atkinson my greatest brasse pottle, the wiche remayneth in the handes of William Therlkelt in the north partes, and also my bedde whereuppon I do lye, with all the apparell. Item I geve and bequethe unto my servaunt William Nicolson xls. sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe unto William Rithe my coke forty shillinges sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe unto William Harfewe my servaunt xxs. sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe iij^l. sterlinge to be devyded amonge my parishioners of Weke after the descretion of myne executor. I bequethe to every brother and sister that is beinge in the sayde hospitall of Sainte Marie Magdalene at the tyme of my dethe iij^s. iiij^d. sterlinge. Item I geve unto every one of my god children beinge alyve at the tyme of my dethe xij^d. sterlinge. Item I geve to Wylliam White my godson¹ all my bookes after the dethe of my nephewe Syr William Atkinson, and also other thinges after the discrecion of the sayde Syr William. Item I geve and bequethe to every one of my brothers and systers children that shalbe alyve at the tyme of my dethe vjs. viij^d. Item I geve and bequethe amonge the parishioners of Chilcom xs. sterlinge.² Item I geve and bequethe, Item I will that my executor shall distribute and geve to the poore people in almes at the daye of my buryinge forty

¹ The son of the Richard and Julian White of Chilcomb, mentioned in this will. He took the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and was admitted a Fellow of Winchester College, March 6, 1554-5. He was rector of Chilcomb subsequent to the year 1554; and resigned it in 1581, by reason of his collation, by Bishop Watson, to the rectory of Bramdean, co. Hants, May 19, 1581. He was instituted to the rectory of Dummer, December 8, 1564, void by the death of Roger Golde, M.A. (*vide* note, p. 190.) He died in the latter part of the year 1588.

² The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen was situated within the boundaries of the parish.

shillinges sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe to Margaret Dean my nece a fetherbede with all the apparell the whiche was Alice Hawkins. Item I geve and bequethe to Syr William Boston curate of Wyke *vs.* sterlinge. Item I bequethe to Syr Thomas Smythe chanthe preste of Marewell five shillinges sterlinge. Item I bequethe to William Nicolson *vjs. viijd.* sterlinge. Item I bequethe to Julian Nicolson *ijs.* and *iiijd.* sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe to Julian White, the wife of Rychard White of Chilcome, my lined long gowne and *vjs.* and *vijld.* sterlinge. Item I geve and bequethe to my nephew Syr William Atkinson chanthe preste of Marewell¹ *vjli.* sterlinge, my best long gowne, my best short gowne, and my best bedde, with all the apparell, the wiche bedde I will that he occupy duringe his liffe, and after his dethe I will that the same bedde shall remayne to John Atkinson. And the said Sir William Atkinson I do constitute and make my full and sole executor, to whome I geve and bequethe all the resydue not geven and bequethed, and the same I wille that he shall dispose for the welthe of my soulle and friends soules and all christian soules as he shall think best. Item I geve and bequethe to Mr. Gilbert Burton² my owne rydinge hackney and forty shillinges sterlinge, whome I do constitute and make my supervisor of this my last will and testament. Wytnes to all the premisses Syr Rychard Knyght preste, Syr John Childe, and Rychard Hoker husbondman, with other more and

per me WILLIAM ATKINSON."

This will was proved before Mr. Edmund Steward, the Vicar-General, in Winchester Cathedral, on the 24 January, 1541-2. He is probably the same *William Atkinson* who, in the reign of Henry VIII, is recorded as having given to the master and brethren of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital two tenements in the Soke of Winchester, for the increasing of the commons of the poor people in Easter and Christmas weeks.

His successor in the rectory of Wyke was Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeld. Within the chancel of the church, inserted in

¹ Sir William Atkinson, the testator, was appointed a chantry priest of this chapel by Bishop Langton, on 16th December, 1496; and resigned this office in the year 1500, on his collation to the mastership of St. Mary Magdalen's Hospital. His nephew was appointed to this office about the year 1533; and, owing to some informality, he was recollated to it by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, February 7th, 1533-4. This chantry was dissolved in 1551, and its lands granted to Sir Henry Seymour, Knight.

² He was a Bachelor in Decrees, and was instituted to the rectory of St. Lawrence, in Winchester, October 9th, 1521; which he resigned by reason of his collation to North Waltham rectory, co. Hants, on 21 April, 1524. I find him recorded as rector of North Waltham in September 1551. He was also rector of Bishop's Waltham in the same county. To this living he was collated by Bishop Fox, September 29. 1525, and is named as its rector in September 1551. He either died or resigned in 1566, as both livings were vacant in the latter part of the year.

the north wall, is a small inscribed stone measuring not more than fifteen inches in length and twelve in height. As several attempts have been made to decipher the inscription, and the best rendering of it (HERE . LYETH . MR . DOCKER . OUR . RESPECTED . PARSON . HERE . 1513 . APRIL . XIII.) is evidently incorrect, I venture to give not only an accurate reading of it, but also to add a few words about the individual whom it commemorates. Such memorials of the sixteenth century are, comparatively speaking, rare in this county. I have consequently deemed it worthy of being engraved. (See plate 14, fig. 1.) The inscription reads: HERE . LYETH . MR . DOCKER . HARPESEFELDE . PARSON . HERE . 1550 . APRIL . III.¹ The rector whom it commemorates in so quaint a manner is the above mentioned Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeld² the elder, who for many years was a leading dignitary in the diocese of Winchester. He was born at Wyeford, in the parish of Sherborne Priors, in this county, on the 2nd of February, 1473-4, and was admitted a scholar of Winchester College in 1486. He was elected thence to New College, Oxford, and admitted as a scholar of that

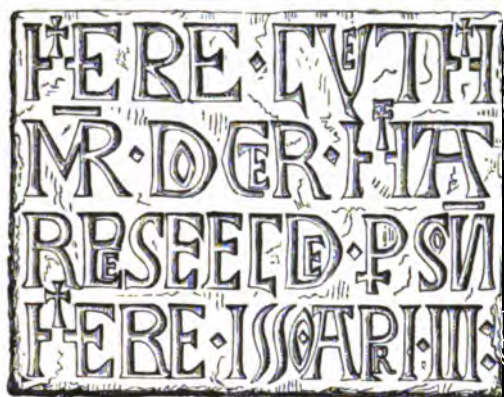
¹ I remember seeing in 1846, in the church of Dummer, co. Hants, near the pulpit, on the floor of the nave, a small brass plate, eleven inches in length and four in breadth, with an inscription not quite so curt, but of about the same date as this example :

Here lyethe buried Roger Solde
Clarke and parson of Dummer who
Deceasede ye xvjth day of November
in the yere of o^r Lorde God 1564.

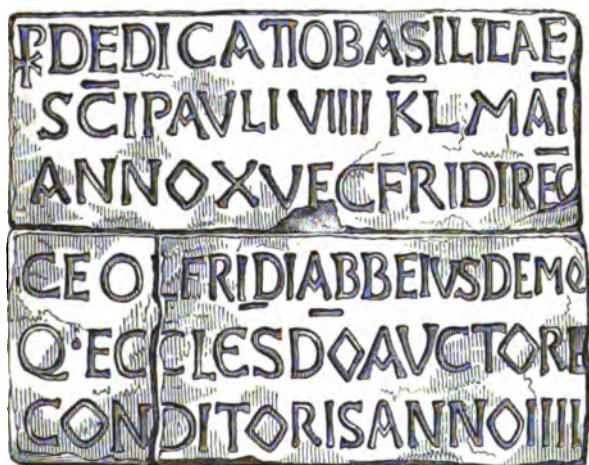
His will is dated November 16th, 1564, the day of his decease. In it he says : "*I will my bodye to be buried before the pulpit within the church of Dummer.*" He was instituted to this church February 26th, 1524-5, on the presentation of Richard Dummer, gentleman.

² A local surname derived from their ancient patrimony of Harpesfield, in the county of Herts, where the family had long been seated. They held it under the celebrated abbey of St. Alban's; and John de Harpesfelde, the son of Roger de Harpesfelde, is recorded as holding it in the reign of Henry III. On the 5th July, 1430, an inquisition *post mortem* was held upon the death of John, the son and heir of John Harpysfelde deceased, and he was found to have held certain lands and tenements in Harpysfelde aforesaid. In 1471, on the 20th July, Sir John Benstede, Knight, died seised of the manor of Harpesfeld. He was lord of the manors of Binstead and Alton, co. Hants; and of Winterslow, co. Wilts. On the Patent Roll of the 5th Henry VIII, among the letters of protection granted by the king to persons wishing to go abroad, there is one on behalf of John Harpesfelde, citizen and draper of London; otherwise called John Harpesfeld, late of London, draper; otherwise John Harpesfeld, of London, gentleman, and Lewis Harpesfelde, of London, mercer. They were going in the retinue of Sir Gilbert Talbot, Deputy of Calais. *Tested* by the king at Westminster, June 16, 1513. (Pat. 5, Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 16.) The former was in all probability the father of John and Nicholas Harpesfeld the younger. Arms : *argent*, three harps *sable*, stringed *or*.

1.



2.



society on the 23rd June, 1490, and obtained his fellowship on 23 June, 1492.¹ On the 2nd March, 1496-7, he was instituted by Dr. Oliver Kyng, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to the rectory of Uphill, in the county of Somerset, at the presentation of Johanna Viscountess Lisle, relict of Edward late Viscount Lisle. From an inquisition held to inquire as to the right of patronage of this church, dated February 23rd, 1497-8, I learn that Nicholas Harpesfeld was at that time twenty-four years of age, had the clerical tonsure, and was of good repute and honest conversation, and studying in the university of Oxford. Owing to some informality or other, he was again instituted to the rectory of Uphill on the 19 May, 1498. On 21 February, 1497-8, he was instituted by Dr. Richard Redmayne, Bishop of Exeter, to the rectory of Reigneash, *alias* Ayshreyne, co. Devon, on the presentation of Joanna Viscountess Lisle and Thomas Specket, gentleman. Sir Nicholas Harpesfelde (as he was now called) held these two livings by virtue of an apostolic dispensation, dated at Rome April 19th, 1498, for which he had petitioned in order that he might be enabled to pursue his studies in civil law.² He resigned his fellowship of New College in the month of January 1498-9. He afterwards became a student in the celebrated university of Bologna, and whilst studying there he visited Rome as a pilgrim. Entering the city on Friday the 17th October, 1505, he claimed the hospitality of the English Hospital, founded for the resort of English pilgrims, by King Ina, in the year 727. At the early part of the year 1508 he resigned his Somersetshire rectory; and on the 29th of March in that year, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Bath and Wells instituted John Baschurch to the rectory of the parish church of Uphill, void by the resignation of Nicholas Harpesfeld, on the presentation of Thomas Knyvet, Esq. It was probably in this year that he obtained

¹ Master Walter Hyll, M.A., warden of New College, died on the 30th March, 1494; and on the 12th of the following month the sub-warden and four and thirty fellows assembled in the College chapel and proceeded to elect a new warden. Their names are all recorded according to their seniority, and Nicholas Harpisfeld's is the twenty-eighth name upon the list. Twenty voted for Mr. William Porter, twelve for Mr. Richard Mayhew, two for Mr. Nicholas Mayhew, and one for Mr. Thomas Martyn. Harpesfeld voted for Richard Mayhew,—"*Nicholous Harpisfeld, civiliste, consensit in Magistrum Ricardum Mayhewe.*" Mr. William Porter having obtained the majority of votes, was declared duly elected to this honourable and important office.

² "E Registro Episcopali Domini Domini Oliveri Kyng Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopi."

his first benefice in the diocese of Winchester,—the rectory of East Tisted, in the county of Hants,—to which he was presented by the Norton family, who seemed very partial to Wykehamists. In April 1524, Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appointed him his commissary and sequestrator-general throughout the archdeaconry of Winchester; and in the same year, on the 2nd of December, he was present in the chapter-house of Winchester Cathedral as one of the witnesses to the election of Dom. Henry Brook, Professor of Sacred Theology, as prior of the cathedral church of St. Swithun's, Winchester. In 1526 he was appointed official of the archdeacon of Winchester by Richard Pates, who was collated to this office on the 3rd of March, 1526-7; and his commission was renewed by Mr. William Boleyn, who succeeded to the archdeaconry on 20th January, 1529-30; and in this capacity I find him, on and after the 9th March, 1526-7, granting probates of wills in the conventual church of the Carmelite friars in the Soke, Winchester; and after the suppression of the religious houses he was wont to officiate in a similar manner in the neighbouring parish church of St. Michael, Kingsgate-street. On the 21st January, 1526-7, Bishop Fox collated him to the rectory of Havant, co. Hants, void by the resignation of Mr. Edw. Coren, S.T.P.

Bishop Fox died on Monday, October 5th, 1528, and was succeeded in the bishopric of Winchester by Cardinal Wolsey. The cardinal appointed Dr. Harpesfeld his commissary-general throughout the diocese, and henceforth he is invariably styled "Nicholas Harpesfeld, Doctor of Decrees, Commissary-General of the most Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord the Lord Thomas, Cardinal Archbishop of York and legate of the apostolic see, also Bishop of Winchester, in his city and diocese of Winchester, also official of the Lord Archdeacon of Winchester."

On the 18th December, 1531, in the consistory court of the cathedral church of Winchester, he delivered to Mr. Edmund Steward, Doctor of Laws, and rector of Easton, the letters patent of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, the newly consecrated bishop of Winchester, sealed with the oblong seal, impressed in red wax, and signed by the hand of the said right reverend father, appointing the aforesaid Mr. Edmund Steward his vicar-general in spiritualities; "which were reverently

received by him, and at his command publicly read by Mr. John Cooke, notary public; and afterwards, at the petition and request of the said Mr. Nicholas Harpesfelde, Doctor of Decrees, he accepted the burden of the commission, for the honour of God, and in reverence of the said reverend father." On the 27th of the same month I find Dr. Nicholas Harpesfelde, as the official of the archdeacon of Winchester, assisting at the enthronization of Bishop Gardiner: indeed, he was one of the three persons to whom Dr. William Warham, the archdeacon of Canterbury, deputed his powers and authority to enthrone the bishop. Bishop Gardiner appears to have renewed Bishop Fox's commission, as in a record of the judicial proceedings against Robert Cooke, of Rye, co. Sussex, held in the Consistory Court of Winchester, before the bishop's vicar-general, on the 1st March, 1533-4, among those who are named as being present, occurs "Nicholas Harpesfeld, Doctor of Decrees, commissary of the said reverend father, in the archdeaconry of Winchester, also official of the lord archdeacon." On the 5th December, 1538, the prior and convent of Winchester Cathedral leased to him, for sixty years, a certain tenement in Kingsgate-street, Winchester, newly repaired, with new stabling and garden adjoining, lying between the tenement and garden of the said prior and convent, and near the church and place of the late Carmelite friars, on the south side; and opposite the tenement of the warden and fellows of New College, Winchester, near the church of St. Michael, on the west side. In this document he is styled "Nicholas Harpisfelde, priest, of Kingsgate-street in the Soke near Winchester, in the county of Southampton, doctor of laws." He was to pay £4 upon his entrance, for the repairs, and 10s. *per annum* afterwards, payable quarterly in equal portions. In 1542 Bishop Gardiner collated him to the rectory of Wyke, otherwise Weke, void by the death of Mr. William Atkinson, its late rector. He resigned his rectory of East Tisted in June 1543, his rectory of Havant in the month of October in the same year, and his rectory of Ashreigny, in Devonshire, in June or July; as from the Register of Dr. John Veysy, Bishop of Exeter, I learn that on the 16th July, 1543, John Bagbere was instituted to the parish church of Aysherigney, void by the resignation of Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeld, on the presentation of Anthony Harvy, Esq.

Among the additional MSS. preserved at the British Museum may be seen a foolscap volume of twenty-two folios, purchased by the trustees on 12th March, 1842, of the late Mr. Rodd, the bookseller, and formerly belonged to the Rev. J. Price of Trinity College. This MS. is the record, or act book, of a visitation of the archdeaconry of Winchester, held by Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeld in the year 1543. It commences with the deanery of Basingstoke, and is headed, "The Visitation held in Parish Church of Basyngstoke on the 29th day of March A.D. 1543, by Master Nicholas Harpysfeld, the Official of the Lord Archdeacon of Winchester."¹ Nearly all the deaneries commence with a similar heading. His visitation of the deanery of Alton was held in the parish church of Alton on the 30th; Alresford deanery, in the parish church of Martyr Worthy, on the 31st; Andover deanery, on Tuesday April 3rd, in the parish church of Andover; Southampton deanery, in the parish church of Holy Rood, Southampton; Droxford deanery on the 6th, in the parish church of Southwick; the Isle of Wight deanery on the 10th, in the chapel of Newport; Fordingbridge deanery, in the chapel of Lymington, April 11th; and the deaneries of Somborne and Winchester on the 16th, in the church of St. Mary Kalendar, Winchester. All of which were held by Dr. Harpesfeld in person, excepting the Isle of Wight visitation, which he deputed to Mr. Ranulph Harward, rector of Gatcombe.

On the 20th October, 1546, the dean and chapter of Winchester Cathedral leased to him, for the term of sixty-one years from the preceding feast of St. Michael the Archangel, at the annual rent of twelve pence, together with a fine of that amount on every death or avoidance, a new house built at the sole cost and charge of the said "Nicholas Harpysfeld, clerk, parson of the parish church of Weke," and a piece of vacant ground or garden at Weke. The house and ground, measuring in length sixty-two feet, and sixteen feet in breadth, abutted upon the king's highway north-west and southward, and upon a close belonging to Richard Complyn on the east side.

In the early part of the year (1546) Dr. Harpesfeld, admonished, perhaps, by advancing years and the consequent decay of physical strength, or warned by the unsettled aspect

¹ "Visitacio exercita in ecclesiâ parochiali de Basyngstoke xxix^{mo} die mensis Marcii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo xliij^o per Magistrum Nicholaum Harpysfeld, officialem domini archidiaconi Winton."

of religious affairs, resigned his official appointments,¹ and retired to Wyke, that he might have leisure to prepare himself for another world; and from the circumstance of a horse-litter being named among his effects, it may reasonably be concluded that latterly at least he had become debilitated in body, or was oppressed by sickness.

His will, written by his own hand, is dated on the 3rd March, 1549-50; and on Saturday, the 15th of the same month, he closed his earthly career at the age of seventy-six years, one month, and thirteen days. He appointed his nephews, Mr. John Harpesfelde, priest, and Mr. Nicholas Harpesfelde, Bachelor of Laws, his executors;² and the latter

¹ Dr. Robert Rainolde, LL.D., was appointed his successor in these offices.

² These two individuals were not only Wykehamists, but men of considerable learning, as will be seen from the following short notice of them. They were both born in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, in old Fish-street, within the city of London. The eldest brother, JOHN HARPESEFELDE, was born May 31, 1516. In 1528 he was admitted a scholar of Winchester College; scholar of New College, Oxford, November 14, 1532; and fellow, November 14, 1534. He took the degree of Professor of Sacred Theology; and resigned his fellowship in 1551, about the month of September. In the year 1554, on the 27th April, he was collated to the archdeaconry of London; on the 4th May, to the rectory of St. Martin's, in Ludgate, London; and on the 26th of the same month to a canonry in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was elected warden of Winchester College, November 3rd, 1556, but declined the office. On the 14th May, 1558, he resigned the rectory of St. Martin's, in Ludgate; and was collated on the same day to the rectory of Laindon, with the chapel of Basildon annexed, co. Essex, void by the resignation of his brother, Dr. Nicholas Harpesfelde. On the 16th May, 1558, he was presented to the deanery of Norwich Cathedral, and installed on the 9th June following. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was ejected from all his preferments, and imprisoned for many years. He died in 1578, aged sixty-two; and was buried, it is supposed, in the church of St. Sepulchre, London. He was the author of several works. His brother, NICHOLAS HARPESEFELDE, was born on the 16th May, 1519. He was sent to Winchester about the year 1528, to learn the rudiments of grammar; and was present at the funeral of Bishop Fox, in Winchester Cathedral, 5th October, 1528 ("Quo ego tempore, me admodum puerum exequiis et funeri ejus interfuisse nemini, ad prima literarum elementa illic haurienda, a parentibus Wintoniam Londino missum"). In 1529 he was admitted a scholar of Winchester College; and of New College, Oxford, January 11th, 1534-5, whereof he was admitted perpetual Fellow, January 11th, 1536-7. In 1546 he was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. He resigned his fellowship in 1553, betaking himself to the Court of Arches, where he soon obtained a considerable practice. He proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Laws. Chancellor of the diocese of Winchester in 1553. In 1554, on the 31st March, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Canterbury; to a canonry in St. Paul's Cathedral, April 27; and two days later, to the rectory of Laindon, with the chapel of Basildon annexed, co. Essex. He was instituted to the rectory of Saltwood, with the chapel of Hythe, co. Kent, May 23rd, 1555. On the 28th October, 1558, Cardinal Pole appointed him Official of the Court of Canterbury, and Dean of the Court of Arches. In 1559, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he was deprived, like his brother, of all his preferments, for refusing to acknowledge the royal supremacy. He languished more than twenty years in imprisonment, employing his time in literary pursuits. His most celebrated work

proved the will on the 20th May, 1550. The document contains several charitable legacies, and names two or three of his poorer parishioners as the special objects of his bounty. Though he held for many years a high position in the church, it will be seen that his worldly goods were not only few in number, but of little value; not more than £16 : 2 : 2, and £20 in money. The legacies named in his will amount to more than £21; and of this sum he leaves £7 : 10 to be distributed among the poor people of Winchester.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. Whenever it shall please Almighty God to call me from this transitory worlde, I will that this shall stande for my last will and testament. In primis, I commende my soule to Almighty God and to our blessed lady the virgin mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ and to all the sayntes of heven, my body to be buried within the Chauncell of Weke, or where it shall please Almighty God. My goodes to be disposed by Mr. John Harpesfeld prest and Mr. Nicolas Harpesfeld bachelor of Law, and in especiall I bequeth to the church of Weke *xxs.* Item, amonge the powre folke of Wynchester *vijl. xs.* Item to the powre of Havant *xls.* Item to my servant Thomas besyde his wages *xs.* Item to Mother Alices *xs.* Item I forgive Sir Anthony Parker *xxs.* whiche he oweth me.¹ Item I forgive Cheynye *xiijs. iiijd.* whiche he oweth me. Item I give to the said Cheynyes son my godson *xs.* Item I geve the lease of my howse builded of my cost in Weke to my said Executors, and to the longer lyver of them, and after their decease yf any yeres shall then remayne I give the same lease to my godson Christopher Smythson. Item to the said Christopher's son I give *xs.* Item, to Syr Thomas Dackcombe I geve *xls.*² Item, to old Angell *vjs. viijd.* for him and his wife. Item, to Mother Meryman *ijs. iiijd.* Item, to Mother Hether *ijs. iiijd.* Item, to Mrs. Dyall *xls.* Item to Syr Emanuell [Maybond]³ I bequeth one of my olde gownes

is entitled *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, published at Douay, in one folio volume, in 1622. He died in 1583, æt. 66. His portrait may be seen in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Anthony Wood speaks of him as "an eminent theologist, well skilled in both the laws, and in Greek, history, and poetry: in all, or most of which faculties, having written very well." (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 214.)

¹ He was collated to the rectory of Compton, near Winchester, in November 1536. In 1541 he was appointed and installed one of the first twelve prebendaries of Winchester Cathedral. He was living September 23, 1551, and died before the 21st November in the same year.

² Sir Thomas Dackcome (or Dacombe), priest, was instituted to the rectory of St. Peter's Colebrooke, December 15, 1519, at the presentation of the abbess and convent of St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester. He resigned it about the year 1533, and was instituted to the vicarage of Nutley, which he resigned in 1541, on his reappointment to the rectory of St. Peter's Colebrooke, Winchester. He is mentioned as rector of this church at a visitation held September 23, 1551.

³ His curate at Week, appointed in June 1543. His name occurs as holding the same office September 25, 1551.

and iij*s*. iiij*d*. Item, to my god daughter in Havant v*s*. viij*d*. Item, I forgive Kerby *xxs*. Item I will my executors to agree with the Arches.¹ Item I wyll Mr. Argall be commonde withall for my dettes to Mr. Barrat.² The rest of all my goodes not bequethed I geve and bequethe to the same Mr. John and Nicholas Harpesfeld whom I ordayn and make my executors to dispose after their discretion to the honour of God and for my soules healthe with Syr John Bakers counsell, whom I ordayn supervysor of this my will desyringe him to accept the same. Item I will that the said Syr John Baker have *xls*. for his counsell and helpe.³ Wytness hereof the iij^{do} of Marche in the yere of oure lorde God, 1549. Syr Thomas Dackney prest, Syr Emanuell Maybond prest, Thomas Meke.

“*Probatum fuit hujus testamentum coram Magistro Edmundo Stewarde, Legum Doctore, Reverendi in Christo patris Domini, Domini Stephani Wintoniensis Episcopi, Vicario in spiritualibus generali, apud Winton. xx^{mo} die mensis Maii anno Domini 1550. Commissa fuit administratio omnium bonorum Nicholao Harpesfeld executorum uni, in hujusmodi testamento nominato, ac in forma juris jurato; reservata potestate committendi consimilem administrationem Johanni Harpesfeld alteri executori in eodem testamento nominato cum voluerit eum admittere,*

[“*Summa inventarii xxxvj*li*. i*js*. i*jd*.*”]

“THE INVENTORY of Mr. Doctor Harpsfelde goods of Wyke deceased the xv. dayes of March, prased by Syr Thomas Dackham prest, Harry Wade and Richarde Complyn paryshyners of Wyke the xvj. day of the said moneth.

Imprimis all maner of lynen, *xxiij*s**.

Item v gownes, iij*li*. xii*s*. iiij*d*.

Item all maner of bedding, iij*li*. ix*s*.

Item chestes, cobbards, tables, trestles, stoles, chayres, *xxj*s*. i*jd**.

Item all vessells of yerne, laten, & pewter, lii*js*. iiij*d*.

Item typettes, cappes and nyghtcappys, *xs*.

Item bokes lx in number, *xxs*.

Item hangings and testurs, *vs*.

¹ The Court of Arches.

² Master John Barrat, S.T.B. He was instituted to the rectory of Monkston, co. Hants, March 10, 1517-18, at the presentation of the provost and scholars of Queen's College, Cambridge. I find him mentioned as rector of this parish, Sept. 17th, 1551. He resigned it in 1561; and on the 25th of November in that year Mr. Christopher Rookes, clerk, was instituted to the rectory of Monkston, “void by the free resignation of Master John Barrette, its last rector.”

³ Rector of Dibden, near Southampton. He succeeded Sir John Manley as rector of this church about the year 1544, and was holding this office September 19, 1551.

Item stone pottes, xvij*d*.

Item vessells longing to baking and washing, viijs.

Item an horslitter cum pertinentiis, iijs.

Item saddelles and bridelles, ijs. iiij*d*.

Item vj. quussions and a boankar,¹ vs. vj*d*.

Item a colte, xs.

Item a nagge, vjs. viij*d*.

Item a bedstede, xij*d*.

Item a carte with harness, vs.

Item a bushell to mete corne, vj*d*.

Item a lader and a malepilien,² xiiij*d*.

Summa, xvjl*i*. ijs. ij*d*.

Item in pecuniis numeratis, xx*l*."

It will be seen that the heading of the inventory records the day of his decease. This is at variance with the date given upon the inscribed slab; and the difference is too great to allow the supposition that it gives the date of his burial. It is not improbable that the stone might have been engraved a few years later, and hence the mistake. There exists no record of his burial, as the parish registers do not extend farther back than the year 1573. The episcopal register of Dr. Stephen Gardiner informs us, however, that "on the twentieth day of March, 1549-50, Mr. John Gambou, clerk, was admitted to the parish church of Weke, in the diocese of Winchester, vacant by the death of Master Nicholas Harpesfeld, clerk, its last incumbent; on the collation of the lord bishop, and was instituted rector in the same, with all its rights and appurtenances."

This church contains another interesting monumental memorial, upon which I am anxious to say a few words. Inlaid upon a small slab of Purbeck marble inserted in the north wall of the nave, placed directly opposite the door, is a brass representing St. Christopher carrying our Saviour upon his shoulders across the water, accompanied by the following inscription:

Here lyeth Will'm Complyn
& Annes his wife p^o whiche
Will'm Deceased p^o xxi day of
Maye p^o yere of oure lord

¹ "Item 6 cushions and a banker." A *banker* was a cloth, carpet, or covering of tapestry, for a form, bench, or seat.

² "Item a ladder and a male-pilion." A *male-pilion* was a stuffed leathern cushion behind a servant who attended his master in a journey, to carry luggage upon.



XI
SE
R
FV
IN
DT

m. c.c.c.c. lxxxviii. Also this be
 ze dedis p^r ze said Will'm hath
 donen to this Church of Wike
 p^r is to say frest dedgacion
 of p^r Church xl^e & to make
 newe bellis to p^r sam Church
 r^t also gabe to p^r halloeng
 of p^r grettest bell h^j. viij^d.
 & for p^r testimoniall of the
 dedication of p^r sam Church
 h^j. viij^d. on whos soules
 ihu' have mercy. Amen.

The sum of £10 to make new bells is certainly a liberal donation. 40s. towards the expense of the fresh dedication of the church.¹ For the hallowing of the greatest bell, 6s. 8d. For the testimonial of the dedication of the same church, 6s. 8d. This was to defray the cost of an engraved slab, or a plate of brass, recording the date and particulars of its consecration, to be inserted in the wall of the church, in accordance with the immemorial custom. To give an instance or two of this.

In the church of Jarrow, in the county of Durham, there still exists the stone that records its original dedication—"the testimonial of its dedication"—on the 9th kalends of May, A.D. 685. The inscription (see plate 14, fig. 2) reads: DEDICATIO BASILICÆ SANCTI PAULI VIII^o KALENDIS MAII ANNO XV ECFRIDI REGIS CEOLFRIDI ABBATIS EJUSDEMQUE ECCLESIAE DEO AUCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII.

On occasion of the holding of a Congress at Rochester by the Association in 1853, Mr. Thurston, of Ashford in Kent, presented a cast of the dedication stone of Postling church, Kent, the building of which has been assigned to the time of Edward the Confessor. The stone is placed under the north window in the chancel, and reads as will be seen on the accompanying plate :

XIX. KAL. SEPTEMBRIS SANCTI EUSEBII CONFESSORIS, ETC.
 HÆC ECCLESIA FUIT DEDICATA IN HONORE SANCTÆ
 DEI MATRIS MARLÆ.

In the parish church of Clee, in Lincolnshire, there also is to be seen a singularly interesting stone—"the testimonial of its dedication"—by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who, on

¹ The bishops of Winchester received in fees for dedicating churches, five marks (£4 6s. 8d.); for consecrating altars, 40s.

account of his great sanctity and piety, was canonized, and is commonly called St. Hugh of Lincoln. The inscription reads: HÆC ECCLESIA DEDICATA EST IN HONORE SANCTÆ TRINITATIS ET SANCTÆ Mariæ VIRGINIS, III. NONAS MARTII, A DOMINO HUGONE LINCOLNIENSI EPISCOPO, ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.C.XC.II°. ✠ TEMPORE RICARDI REGIS.

A brass plate in Ashborne church, Derbyshire, records its dedication by Hugh de Petersbull, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, on the 8th kalends of May A.D. 1241, in honour of St. Oswald, king and martyr :

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.CCXLI
VIII. KALEND. MAII DEDICATA EST HEC ECCLESIA
ET HOC ALTARE CONSECRATUM IN HO-
NORE SANCTI OSWALDI REGIS ET MARTI-
RIS A VENERABILI PATRE DOMINO
HUGONE DE PATISHUL COVENTRENSI EPISCOPO.

The Complyn family had been located at Wyke for several generations. On one of the old court rolls of St. Swithun's cathedral priory, Winchester (the ancient lords of the manor), I remember reading that at the court for the hundred of Buddlesgate, held on Tuesday the 29th October, A.D. 1415,¹ there came the tithingman of Wike with his sidemen, who made a presentment of John Hayward for assaulting "with a certain bow and a certain arrow, against the peace, a certain WILLIAM COMPLEN"; for which he was mulct of four pence. This William Complyn was probably the grandfather of the one commemorated by the brass as a liberal benefactor to the church of Wyke. This brass, in all probability, was not engraved until after the death of his widow, Agnes Complyn, in 1503. By her will, dated September 30th, 1503, she directs her body to be buried in the parish church of Wyke, near the grave of her husband. She bequeathed to the high altar of the parish church of Wyke a fine linen cloth; and to the light burning before the image of our crucified Saviour, twenty pence; to the light of the Blessed Mary, three ewe sheep; and to St. Christopher's light, six ewe sheep; to the parish church of Little Somborne, four ewe sheep; to each of the four orders of friars, four pence;² to the chapel of the

¹ Wyke is situated within the hundred.

² The Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites, are the four orders referred to, and each of them had a convent at Winchester. They were the special objects of bounty in almost every local will which I have seen, dated anterior to the dissolution of religious houses.

Blessed Mary of Westgate, six pence;¹ to a priest celebrating divine service for her soul on certain days, for four weeks from the day of her burial, 3s. 4d.; to Sir William Atkynson, rector of Wyke, for his services, 6s. 8d.; to her daughter Isabella, a feather bed, her best girdle of silver, a mazer silver mounted and gilt, a diaper tablecloth, a large coffer, a gown of "musterdeviles," and a kirtle of a red colour; to the three men ringing the bells on the day of her burial, six pence; to each of her grandchildren, two lambs; to the wife of John Vaune a russet kirtle with red sleeves; to Edward Goater half a quarter of wheat, and to his wife a red gown; to each of her household servants a ewe sheep; to Thomas Daniell a brass pot; to Thomas Complyn, her grandson, a large chest; to Johanna Kempe, her grandchild, a good linen cloth; to Elizabeth Balynger a white tunic and a frock; for a priest to celebrate for her soul's repose, for an entire year, £5 : 6 : 8. The residue of all her goods she bequeaths to Stephen Complyn, her son, and appoints him her sole executor.

"IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ultimo die mensis Septembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tercio, Ego Agnes Complyn, compos mentis et sanæ memoriæ, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis commendo animam meam Deo patri omnipotenti, Beatæ Mariæ et omnibus Sanctis ejus; corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Wyke, juxta sepulturam mariti mei. Item lego ecclesiæ cathedrali Sancti Swithuni, xijd. Item lego summo altari ecclesiæ parochialis de Wyke unum linthiamen optimum. Item lego tribus luminibus in ecclesia de Wyke prædicta, videlicet lumini ymaginis crucifixi, xxd., lumini Beatæ Mariæ tres oves matrices, et lumini Sancti Christofori sex oves matrices. Item lego ecclesiæ parochiali de Parva Somborne quatuor oves matrices. Item lego quatuor ordinibus fratrum xvjd. videlicet cuilibet eorum iiijd. Item lego capellæ Beatæ Mariæ de Westgait vjd. Item lego uno sacerdoti celebranti pro anima mea certis vicibus per quatuor septimanas a die sepulturæ meæ, iij s. iiij d. Item lego Domino Willielmo Atkynson, Rectori de Wyke, pro labore suo,

¹ This chapel stood on the north side of the west gate of the city of Winchester,—in fact adjoined it. The ruins of this chapel were cleared away at the beginning of the present century; and were, before Dr. Milner wrote, inaccurately described as the ruins of the church of St. Anastasius; and it is marked as the site of St. Athanasius' church in Godson's map of Winchester, A.D. 1750. It was one of the chapels annexed to "the church of St. Valery without the Westgate."

² A kind of mixed grey woollen cloth which continued in use up to Elizabeth's reign.

vjs. viij*d.* Item lego filiæ meæ Isabellæ unum lectum plumalem, meam optimam zonam deargentatam, unam murrâ deargentatam ac insuper deauratam, unam mappam de diaper, unum shipe-cofferum, unam togam de musterdeviles et unum kyrtyll rubii coloris. Item lego tribus hominibus campanas pulsantibus die sepulture meæ vjd. Item lego filiis meis viventibus cuilibet eorum vel earum duos agnos. Item lego uxori Johannis Vaune unum russet kyrtyll cum rubiis manicis. Item lego Edmundo Gooter dimidium quaterium frumenti. Item lego uxori Edmundi Gooter unam togam blodeam. Item lego servis meis in domo servientibus cuilibet eorum unam ovem matricem. Item lego Thomæ Daniell unam ollam eneam. Item lego Thomæ Complyn filiolo meo unam magnam cistam. Item lego Johannæ Kempe filiols meæ unum bonum linthiamen. Item lego Edithæ Balynger unam tuniculam albam et unum superum vocatum a *franke*. Item lego uno sacerdoti pro anima mea celebranti per unum annum integrum *vl.* vjs. viij*d.* Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum debitis meis prius persolutis do et lego Stephano Complyn filio meo, quem quidem Stephanum ordino et constituto executorem meum in omnibus, ut ipse disponat pro anima mea prout ei melius videbitur; constituo insuper Willielmum Webbe supervisorem meum. Et volo ut ipse habeat pro labore suo sex oves matricem. Hiis testibus, Domino Willielmo [Atkinson] rectore, Domino Christofore Neilson capellano, Ricardo Harford, Johanne Vaune, cum quam pluribus."

Stephen Complyn, her only surviving son and executor, died in or about the month of May 1543. His will is dated April 25th, 1543, and was proved before Dr. Nicholas Harpessfeld on the 8th June following :

"IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. The xxv^d day of Apryll in the yere of our Lorde God m^ccccc^{xliij}" and in the raygne of our soverayne Kyng Henry the viij. the xxxv^d. I Stephen Complen of the parysche of Wecke, being secke in my body and of good remembrance of mynde do make my laste wyll and testament in maner and forme folowyng. Fyrst I bequethe my soulle to Allmyghty God and our blessed lady the virgyn Marie and to all the holy company of heven, and my body to be buried within the churche of Wecke before the Roodde. Item I bequethe to my mother church of Wynchester xij*d.* Item I bequeth to the hye alter of Saynt Mathy my parysche churche xij*d.* Item I bequethe to my parysche churche x yowyne sheppe¹ to the mayntenance of hyt. Item I bequeth to my dowghter Alise Complen x. yowne sheppe, x. wethers, a pan of brasse of a bowssell, a brass pott of ij galons, a fether bedd, a quartero of whetto, ij quarters of mawlt, ij platters, ij pottingers

¹ Ten ewe sheep.

and two sawsers. Item I bequeyeth to Thomas Complen my son j. quarter of barley. I bequeyeth to John Complen my son j. quarter of barley. Item I bequeyeth to my godchildryn every one of them a lambe. Item I wyll that my executoures see that I have dyryge¹ every day from my buryall till my mownyths mynde. Item I bequethe to Jone my wyffe all the beddyng, coffers, with all the stuff that is within the coffres and that is within the chamber that I do lye in, also the chambere to hyre to occupy for the terme of hyre lyffe. Item I bequeyeth to Thomas Batt a lambe, also I make Jone my wyffe and Rychard my son my hoolle executors to dyspose my goodes after my dettes be payd and my wyll fulfilled. The resydew of my goodes I wyll myne executors have to dyspose for the helth of my sowle as they thyncke most best. Item I wyll that Thomas Complen my son and Anderew Batt to be my overseers for to see that this my last wyll be fulfilled, and to have every one of them halffe a quarter of whette for ther labowre. Wytnes hereoff Syr Roger Gambu my gostly father,² Rychard Harfelde, Stephan Pagge, John Complyn, with other mo, beryng datte above writtyn. Thomas Complayne, John Complayn, and Andrew Barke (*sic*).

Provyso that Jone my wyffe shall have halfe of all my goodes soever they be, and have lyberty to make a testament after her wyll and mynde and to geve hit as hyt shall plesse her after my dettes be payd and my wyll fullyllyd, and the othere halfe part of my goodes that my son Rychard Complen shall have lycke wyse for to gyve as he thyncke best without any contradycyon or stryffe. In case thatt [either] off them my executors shall dye one afore another, wytnes hereof within specyfyed.

“Probatum fuit presens testamentum coram Magistro Nicholao Harpesfelde, legum doctore, officiali domini archidiaconi Winton: auctoritate regia fulcito viij^o die Junii anno Domini 1543^o per eum approbatum et insinuatam, ac pro vero valore ejusdem pronunciatum, commissaque fuit administracio bonorum executoribus in hujusmodi testamento nominatis, in forma juris juratis, salvo jure cujuscunque.”

¹ The service for the dead, so called from its being the first word of the anthem to the first nocturn in the matins of the Office for the dead,—“*Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam*” (“Direct, O Lord my God, my steps in thy sight”). The term *dirige* is an abbreviation from the Latin *dirige*.

² Sir Roger Gambou was Dr. Harpesfelde's curate at Wyke. At the archidiaconal visitation held in the church of St. Mary Kalendar, Winchester, April 16, 1543, he is named as curate of Wyke,—“*Dominus Rogerus Legge curatus*.” On the 27th of June of the same year he was instituted to the rectory of East Tisted (void by the resignation of Dr. Nicholas Harpesfeld, its last rector) on the presentation of John Norton, Esq., its patron. In the record of his institution he is called “*Dominus Rogerus Gambue alias Legge*.” He was still rector here September 14th, 1551.

The Complyn family continued to reside at Wyke until the time of Charles I, in whose reign the family, in all probability, became extinct. Their estate passed into the hands of the Godwin family about this time, and has continued in their possession till within the last few years.

In former days almost every parish possessed a flock of sheep for the purpose of maintaining the fabric of the church, its numerous lights, and other expenses. These sheep were termed "the church stock,"¹ and afforded a continual source of profit by the sale of their wool and of the "*kebbes*" or superfluous sheep. These sheep were generally distributed among the different farmers of the parish, and a small sum paid annually for their maintenance. Stephen Page, husbandman, of the parish of Wyke, says in his will, dated June 8th, 1552,—

"Item I geve to the parish churche of Weke a yewe in her wooll to the buildinge and mainteyninge of the said parishe churche. Item I will that Elizabeth my wyfe shall deliver to the church wardens of the said parish churche of Weke vj. shepe in there wooll, the whiche I doe owe unto the said parish church."

In the inventory of his goods, etc., taken on 20th June, 1552, among the debts of the deceased,—

"*In primis* for the hier of six shepe of the parishe church of Weke for iiij yeares, everie yeare xvij*d.*, vjs.

There are at present three bells and a small "sanctus" bell in the belfry of the church.² The largest of the three bells measures two feet six inches in diameter at the mouth, and is inscribed, ELLIS AND HENRY KNIGHT MADE ME 1673. The next, or central bell, is two feet three inches in diameter, and has only the date "1673" upon it. The third bell is two feet in diameter, and has inscribed upon it, in bold old English characters,

Sancte Laurenti Ora Pro Nobis.

¹ William Ayliff, of Dean near Basingstoke, Hants, by his will, dated 14th March, 1534-5, bequeathed "to the church stock of Dene x shepe to mayntain yerely iij. tapers in the parish churche of Dene, one of the tapers to be before the ymage of All-Hallows, another before our blessed ladye on the south syde of the churche, and the thirde before the picture of Jhesu....Item I will that my executors cause a stone to be layde upon the grave of my brother Mr. Richard Ayleff sometyme parson of Dene." He was instituted to this church February 11, 1511-12; and died before March 13, 1524-25.

² This appears to have been the original number, from the bequest in Agnes Complyn's will (*vide* p. 201),—"Also I leave to the three men ringing the bells on the day of my burial, six pence."

The "sanctus" bell has no inscription or date, and is only ten inches in diameter; and its height, including the stock, gives the same measurement.

The church plate consists of a chalice and paten. The paten is of silver, parcel-gilt, of the sixteenth century, measuring five inches and three-quarters in diameter, and of a plate-like shape. In the centre is a sunken hollow, one inch and three-quarters in diameter, pounced with a representation of the Holy Lamb holding a banner. The hollowed portion within the rim is pounced with eight foliations or cusps ornamented with a leaf-pattern. Around the rim is engraved ✠ CVNCTA: CREO: VVIETVTE: REGO: PIE: TATE: REFORMO. The silver chalice is of much later date, and is inscribed, "For the church of Wick near Winton, 1705." It bears the Hall marks; Britannia; the court hand, I (the date mark), for 1704; and the maker's initials, C. R.

The old parish chest is an interesting relic. It is unusually large, formed of stout oak planks strongly bound with iron bandages, more numerous, and of greater strength, than those on any other chest I have yet seen: its locks and fastenings are equally strong. This chest was formerly kept in the chancel; but as its size proved a source of inconvenience, it has been removed, and is now preserved in an out-house adjoining the churchwarden's residence, near the church. It contains no papers or records of any kind.

The earliest register of this parish is one of the smallest I have seen,—a paper book measuring only five and a half inches by four inches, with limp parchment covers. It commences in 1573, and ends in 1648. Of the baptismal entries the earliest is: "1573. The 15th October, William Longe was Chrystened." And its latest is dated April 16, 1648. The records of nine years are wanting, namely between 1607 and 1617. The number of baptisms varies from one to three a year. The marriages commence in 1578. The earliest is, "Steven Complyn & Margery Wayte was maryed y^e xiiij. day of July a^o 1578." After 1598 there is a gap of nine years, and after the year 1631 fourteen years are wanting, and eleven years after 1631. The last marriage recorded was solemnized July 22, 1646. Of the burials, the earliest entry records that "Edmund Hopkens was buried 1 July, 1573." After 1619 there is a gap of fifteen years, and six years after the year 1639. The last burial is dated February 12th,

1645-6. The records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, for twenty-six years are wanting between the first and second registers.

The second register book is of parchment, measuring thirteen inches and a half by seven and a quarter, and contains baptisms from 1675 to 1769; marriages from 1674 to 1753; burials from 1675 to 1769. At the commencement of the book is written,—“*Guil. Emes Art. Mr. Rector Ecclesiæ de Week hunc librum parochiæ suæ donavit, cum ante hæc Registrum habuerat ex bilula t'm charta contextum. Nov. 8, 1674.*” From the last mentioned dates the registers are continued in a regular manner down to the present time.

I may now venture to offer the best succession in my power of its incumbents, commencing with those who were rectors of the church of St. Anastasius previous to its union with the church of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys.

Rectors of the Church of St. Anastasius, in the Gift of the Bishop of Winchester for the time being.

1. THOMAS DE MODESFONT, chaplain, was collated to the vacant church of St. Anastasius, situated without the walls of the city of Winchester, August 20, A.D. 1306.

2. SIR WILLIAM DE GERLETHORPE, priest, was collated to it November 29, 1324.

3. THOMAS DE BISSHOPETON, priest, was collated January 11, 1343-4. This rector exchanged for the rectory of Lantante, in the diocese of Hereford, with

4. WILLIAM DE WESTBURY. On the 16 July, 1345, Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Winchester, authorized the Bishop of Hereford to institute him. He was duly instituted; and Adam de Orleton received the bishop's certificate on the 18th, and forthwith issued the mandate for his induction,—his last public act, and the day of his death.

5. WILLIAM DE DYMMOCK, whose collation I cannot ascertain; but he resigned it for the rectory of St. Audoen (Owen), without the gate of St. Audoen, of the city of Hereford, with

6. ROGER DE ORLETON, who was instituted to St. Anastasius' by the Dean of Hereford, by the authority of the Bishop of Winchester, November 2, 1347. On the 5th December, the bishop issued the mandate for his induction.

7. JOHN WYNHALE DE WYNTON, priest, collated March 4, 1349-50.

8. THOMAS DE DODENHAM, priest, collated June 14, 1358.
9. THOMAS PLOMERE, a poor clerk (*pauper clericus*), was collated to it by William de Wykeham, December 16, 1368. Ordained a priest, at Farnham Castle, March 17, 1368-9.
10. SIR WILLIAM WELLES, priest, collated Nov. 2, 1383. He exchanged for the vicarage of Weybridge, co. Surrey, with
11. SIR HENRY HUSSBORNE, priest, who was collated to it July 7, 1391, and the last recorded rector of this church previously to its incorporation with St. Mary's of the Valleys.

Rectors of the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys, near Winchester, with the Chapel of Wyke annexed to the same, and in the Patronage of the Bishop of Winchester for the time being.

1. OGER DE KERNICK, clerk, collated September 13, A.D. 1304. On whose resignation
2. JOHN DE ST. JOHN, acolyte, was collated September 17, 1304 (the same year).
3. ROGER ATTE FLODE DE AULTON, clerk, collated June 20, 1316. On whose resignation
4. NICHOLAS DE LA FLODE, acolyte, was collated June 10, 1317, and resigned it for the provostship of St. Elizabeth's College.
5. THOMAS WASTEL DE LOMER, acolyte, and rector of this church, obtained on 11 May, 1321, a license for two years' absence for the purpose of study, with the obligation of taking the order of sub-deacon within that period. On the 16th April, 1322, he was presented by Gerald de Asserio, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Winchester, to the rectory of Rimpton, co. Somerset, and died before the month of October in the same year. On his resignation
6. NICHOLAS DE CHURCHULLE, called YESTELE, sub-deacon ("*clericus et familiaris domini episcopi*"), was collated July 27, 1322; ordained a deacon by Peter, Bishop of Corbavia, December 18, 1322, in the chapel of St. Elizabeth's College, near Winchester.
7. WILLIAM LOMB DE OKHAM, clerk, collated April 25, 1330.
8. WILLIAM DE SALTON, clerk, collated December 21, 1330. He resigned it October 24, 1333, publicly, in the presence of the bishop, in the chapel of Farnham Castle; and was collated on the same day to the rectory of Bramdean. His successor,

9. THOMAS GERARD DE STRATFORD, clerk, was collated on the 24 October, 1333.

10. MASTER WILLIAM GILLE DE ALRESFORD, deacon. This rector exchanged for Church Oakley rectory, co. Hants, on the 25 March, 1337, with

11. SIR ANDREW DE GULDEFORD, priest, collated on the same day. His institution to Church Oakley took place July 27, 1326. He was then in priest's orders, and obtained it by exchange for the church of Newenham, Hants; instituted Oct. 22, 1305, and styled Andrew de Guldeford, deacon.

12. NICHOLAS LYNNE DE NORTHLECHE. He exchanged this rectory for the perpetual vicarage of Barton Stacey, Hants, with

13. SIR WILLIAM LEVERYNGE DE NORTHLECHE, collated September 27, 1339. His institution to Barton Stacey is dated November 21, 1329, and he was at that time in priest's orders.

14. RICHARD DE BYBURY, priest, collated July 17, 1342. He resigned on the same day the rectory of St. Faith, near Winchester, to which he had been collated on the 2nd May the same year.

15. THOMAS DE STAMFORD, clerk, collated April 15, 1349.

16. JOHN DE WESTBURY, priest, collated September 4, 1350; on whose death

17. JOHN PAYNE, clerk, was collated May 26, 1361. He exchanged for the rectory of Radipole, co. Dorset, with

18. MASTER JOHN CORFE, who was collated August 23, 1361, and on the same day resigned it into the hands of Bishop William de Edyndon.

19. THOMAS CROOK DE GROVE, priest, collated August 25, 1361, void by the resignation of John Corfe, clerk. He was instituted to the rectory of St. Peter's, in Colebrook-street, Winchester, September 23, 1361, and was dismissed from this church. His successor,

20. WALTER SMYTH, was collated January 7th, 1361-2.

21. SIR WALTER DE EDYNDON, whose collation is not recorded; but on whose death

22. SIR THOMAS DE APPULBY, priest, was collated September 10, 1374. He died within a few weeks; and the church being thus vacant,

23. SIR WALTER TYGEHALE, priest, was collated October 19, 1374. On whose decease,

24. JOHN MERKS, clerk, was collated January 7, 1400-1. He was probably nephew to Thomas Merks, formerly bishop of Carlisle, and at this time suffragan to the Bishop of Winchester. This rector held the living for more than half a century; and it was during his incumbency that the church and parish of St. Anastasius were incorporated with this incumbency, which was henceforth designated "The parish Church of St. Anastasius, together with the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Valleys, and the Chapel of Wyke annexed to the said Church of St. Anastasius." At his death

25. SIR THOMAS BAYLEMOND, chaplain, was collated July 20, 1451, on whose resignation

26. MASTER JOHN NELE, M.A., was collated September 18, 1454, with the obligation of paying an annuity of eight marks *per annum* out of the fruits of this church to the late rector. He was ordained a priest by Bishop Wayneflete, in the chapel at Essher, April 5, 1455. On whose death

27. MASTER GUILLERM DE LAGUNA, Bachelor in Decrees, was collated November 2, 1459. He was ordained acolyte in the parish church of Farnham, December 22, 1459; and on 6th March, 1459-60, Bishop Wayneflete granted him *letters dimissory* for all the sacred orders. Ordained a deacon in the conventual church of St. Mary's Overy, Southwark, March 29, 1460. On January 27, 1462, Bishop Wayneflete collated him to the rectory of Crawley, near Winchester, subject to the payment of an annual pension of £20 to Sir Hugh Combe, its last rector. He continued to hold both livings up to the time of his decease in April 1475. His successor,

28. SIR WALTER DYAR, chaplain, was collated April 14, 1475. For this living he resigned the rectory of Compton, near Winchester, to which he had been collated April 1, 1469; and previous to this he held the rectory of Avington, collated November 17th, 1464. He was the last rector of St. Anastasius and St. Mary's of the Valleys, with the chapel of Wyke annexed. On whose death

29. SIR MATTHEW FOX, chaplain, was collated under its new title "The parish Church of Wyke, near Winchester," December 24, 1493. He resigned it for the rectory of Michelmersh; collated June 17, 1500; died in 1504, about the month of October; and his successor,

30. SIR WILLIAM ATKINSON, chaplain, and master of the

Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, near Winchester, was collated June 17, 1500. His will is dated February 5, 1539-40, and was proved January 24, 1541-2.

31. MASTER NICHOLAS HARPESFELD, Doctor of Decrees, succeeded in the same year; whose collation I have, however, failed to recover. He died March 15, 1549-50. His successor,

32. MASTER JOHN GAMBOU, clerk, was collated March 20, 1549-50. A native of Exeter, and a Wykehamist. Admitted a Fellow of Winchester College, Sept. 27, 1537. He was chaplain to Bishop Stephen Gardiner, who collated him to the rectory of East Woodhay, November 6th, 1546. On whose deprivation

33. SIR THOMAS DOBSON was collated July 21, 1554; on whose resignation

34. JOHN SCOTT, clerk, was collated December 8, 1556; on whose death

35. THOMAS DAVIDSON, clerk, was collated December 6, 1575. He died in 1586, and his successor,

36. ROBERT HUNTER, clerk, B.A., was collated July 21, 1586. He was still rector here on 25 September, 1591; and also, I believe, in 1614.

[Here I have to lament a hiatus from the year 1615 to 1627 inclusive, and another from 1642 to 1660.]

37. JOHN RICHARDS, clerk, M.A., a Wykehamist, is the next on record. He must have been its rector in 1660; but how long previously I cannot say. This incumbent was instituted on the 12 May, 1666, to the rectory of Ash, co. Surrey, on the presentation of the warden and scholars, clerks, of Winchester College. He continued to hold this living, together with the rectory of Wyke, till his decease in 1669.

38. THOMAS CONSTABLE, clerk, was collated May 6, 1669. He resigned it by reason of his collation to the rectory of Avington, on February 2nd, 1671-2. His successor,

39. JONATHAN COOKE, clerk, LL.B., and fellow of Winchester College, was collated March 31st, 1672. He died October 5th, 1674, aged thirty-two, and is buried in the south cloister of Winchester College. On whose death

40. WILLIAM EMES, M.A., fellow of Winchester College, was collated Nov. 3, 1674. On the 11th January 1676-7, he was instituted to the rectory of Ash, co. Surrey, on the presentation of its patrons (the warden and scholars of Winchester College). He died on 11 May, 1703, in the sixty-first year of his age,

and was buried in the west cloister of Winchester College. On a white marble tablet is the following inscription : "H. S. E. Gulielmus Emes, M.A., hujus Collegii per annos xxx Socius; Parochiæ de Ash in Agro Surriensi Rector. Quem Vitæ Integritas; Sancta in Amicitiiis colendis fides; Vultûs bonitas; animi Candor; Effusa in plurimos beneficia; In omnes, benevolentia; Simplex modestia; Et suavissimâ comitate condita gravitas; Omnibus dum vivente charum; Omnibus post obitum, deplendum Fecerunt. Obiit verò xi^{mo} die Maii anno Dñi M.DCCIII. Ætatis suæ LXI. He resigned the rectory of Wyke in 1683.

41. ISAAC BRIAND, clerk, was collated Sept. 24, 1683.

42. WILLIAM NEWLIN, clerk, LL.D., the next rector, was collated September 10th, 1687. His successor,

43. GABRIEL BARNABY, clerk, was collated March 9, 1696-7. He had been fellow of New College, Oxford; and in 1694 was elected one of the proctors of the University. He was collated to the rectory of Woolverton, Hants, July 1st, 1697. At his death

44. GEORGE FERNE, clerk, was collated April 21, 1719; on whose resignation, by reason of his collation to the rectory of Avington on 5th March, 1734,

45. DANIEL MAYO, clerk, was collated March 7, 1734; on whose cession

46. JOHN BAILLEY, clerk, B.A., was collated July 30, 1759. He was buried within the communion-rails, on the north side of the chancel, April 7, 1769. The following inscription appears upon the slab covering his grave, and is now nearly illegible : "In Memory of the Rev. John Bailley, late Rector of this Parish, who died April 4, 1769." His successor,

47. CHARLES BLACKSTONE, clerk, LL.B., fellow of Winchester College, and eldest brother of Sir William Blackstone, Knt., was collated May 3, 1769. On 21 November, 1774, he was instituted to the rectory of Widley, with the vicarage of Wimering, co. Hants, on the presentation of Robt. Thistlethwayte, Esq., and of the warden and scholars of Winchester College. He died on Sunday, May 13, 1804, and was buried in the south cloister of Winchester College, where he is commemorated by the following inscription : "H. S. E. Carolus Blackstone, LL.B., Socius per annos LI. hujusce Collegii, quod, Consiliis atque Operâ, Eruditione, Theologicâ præsertim, Sanctitate Morum, Strenuè adjuvabat, insigniter ornabat,

Filiorum eheu ! superstes. Obiit xiii^{mo} die Maii, anno Dom. M.DCCCIV. Æt. lxxxv."

48. THE HON. THOMAS DE GREY, clerk, M.A., second son of Lord Walsingham, was collated to the vacant rectory, July 25, 1804. He resigned it on his collation to the rectory of Fawley, Hants, in December 1806. He was afterwards collated to a canonry in Winchester Cathedral, July 11, 1807; archdeacon of Winchester, December 18 in same year; and to the archdeaconry of Surrey, August 15, 1814, and rector of Calborne. On the decease of his brother, April 26, 1831, he succeeded to the dignity of Baron Walsingham, and died September 8, 1839. On his resignation of Wyke rectory,

49. GEORGE ILLINGWORTH, clerk, M.A., was collated to it January 10th, 1807. He was a student of Christchurch, Oxford, and had been instituted to the rectory of South Tidworth, Hants, January 1, 1798, on the presentation of Assheton Smith, Esq. He continued to hold these two benefices up to the period of his death, which occurred on Tuesday, May 2, 1816, aged fifty-one. On accepting the rectory of Wyke he resigned the vicarage of Turk Dean, co. Gloucester, with the perpetual curacy of Aldsworth in the same county.

50. EDWARD NOTT, clerk, M.A., curate of Droxford, was collated May 18, 1816. He was rector for twenty-five years, and died on the 22nd April, 1842, in his sixty-ninth year, and is buried on the north side of the chancel.

51. DAVID MORGAN, clerk, curate of Amport, collated May 20, 1842. He resigned it in September 1843, on his being presented by the Bishop of Winchester to the rectory of Ham, near Hungerford, Wilts.

52. WILLIAM MUSSAGE KIRKWALL BRADFORD, clerk, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, B.A. in 1829; M.A. 1831; rector of Hambledon, co. Bucks, from 1832 to 1840; was collated September 14, 1843. He resigned it by reason of his collation to the rectory of West Meon, with the chapelry of Privet, in the same county, December 4th, 1844.

53. CHARLES WALTERS, clerk (of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; B.A. in 1808; M.A. in 1822; ordained deacon and priest in 1808, both by the Bishop of Winchester), was collated to the vacant rectory, February 15, 1845; and thereupon resigned the rectory of Bramdean, which he had held since August 9th, 1831. This gentleman is the actual rector.

ON ANCIENT NIELLI.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

IF some doubt and uncertainty still hang about the primal æra and parent country of incrustated enamel, a far deeper mystery overshadows the history of *nigellum*, or *niello* as it is termed by the Italians from its nigrescent hue. So closely, in some respects, are these two forms of decoration allied, that we might well believe both had their origin among the same people in the same age; but at present the evidence seems to favour the higher antiquity of *nigellum*, and its first employment by the Tyrrhenian race.

The substance known as niello is an alloy of silver and lead, to which copper is sometimes added; and in the middle ages the natural blackness of the compound was deepened by the aid of sulphur.¹

The mode followed in the application of this species of embellishment resembled that of the *champ-levé* enamels. The desired pattern was sculpted either on bronze, silver, or gold, and the alloy laid in the channels in a powdered state, and then submitted to a heat sufficient to fuse it into a compact mass, which was afterwards polished down to the level of the metallic surface. Vases, trinkets, toilet boxes, and many other small objects, are found adorned with this amalgam; which was also employed in filling the incised letters of inscriptions on the *manubriæ* of vessels, etc. But it is only within a comparatively recent period that its real nature has been recognized, most persons considering it as an inlay of silver, either in form of plate or wire: indeed, up to the present hour many seem ignorant of the existence of ancient nielli, though fully cognizant of the delicate productions of Finiguerra and his school.

Worsaae, in his *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark* (p. 39), describes, under the "Bronze Period," a portion of a bronze vessel, on the lower side of which are ornaments in form of rays of light, deeply engraved, and filled up with a black

¹ Mrs. Merrifield, in her *Ancient Practice of Painting* (i, 242), gives an early receipt for niello, taken from a treatise by Ercolus the Roman; and another receipt occurs in the *Diversarum Artium Scheda* of the monk Theophilus.

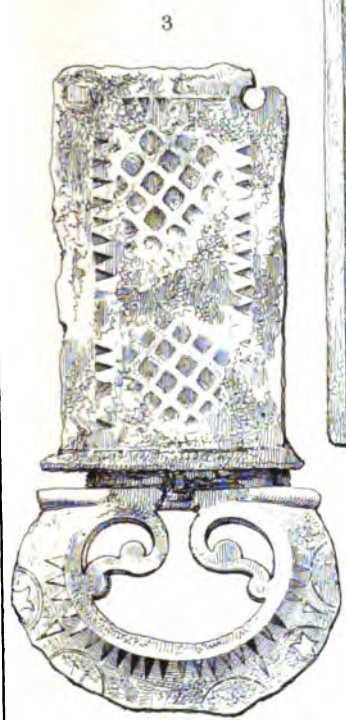
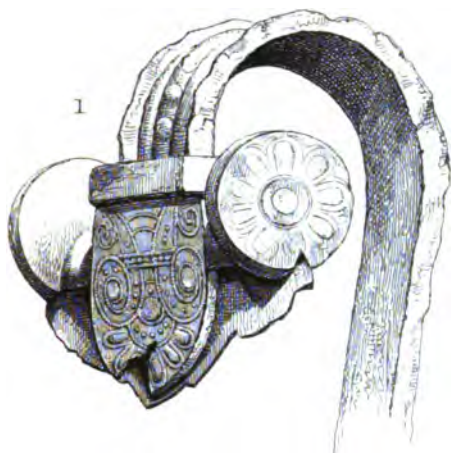
substance. This substance is in all probability true nigelum; but the oldest positive instance of the employment of this alloy I am able to produce, is on a stud covering the circular end of the transverse member of the bronze handle of a *gutturium* discovered by Signor Campanari in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci. This stud is a thin plate of silver, nearly seven-eighths of an inch diameter; the device consisting of two central rings, from which radiate twelve loops, forming a sort of rosette in black outline upon a bright field. (See pl. 16, fig. 1.)

There is ample proof that the Romans, like the Etruscans, employed silver studs with niello devices for the decoration of various objects of art and utility. A fine example of such practice is seen in a bronze statuette found near Barking Hall, Suffolk, in 1799, and presented to the British Museum, in 1813, by the Earl of Ashburnham.¹ This beautiful relic is evidently the work of the first century of the Christian æra, and represents an emperor with a *lorica* richly adorned with foliage and ten silver studs with niello devices, which may be compared with that on the Etruscan *manubrium* from Vulci.

The explorations so diligently and successfully carried on at Wroxeter by Mr. T. Wright, have led to the discovery of a nielloed stud which differs considerably in design from those already described, and is therefore represented at fig. 2. It is eight-tenths of an inch in diameter, and on it is a floral ornament which may be likened to four cinque-spotted petals with a cruciformed anther between each. This interesting little ornament was found in the shop of a trinket-maker; and from its association with coins of the Constantine family, may be regarded as the work of the fourth century.

Our thanks are due to Mr. H. Durden of Blandford, for the sight of some elegant examples of Roman nielloing, which there is every reason to believe cannot be of later date than the first century of the Christian æra. They were exhumed within the *castrum* on Hod Hill, Dorset,—a spot which has yielded British, Consular, and other coins; the latest being of Claudius, whose death took place A.D. 54; and it is to the reign of this emperor that we are fairly entitled to assign the vast majority of the relics here met

¹ It is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv, pl. 11.



ANCIENT NIELLI.



with, though some undoubtedly belong to an earlier period. These nielloed objects are portions of military accoutrements, and in all likelihood belonged to some person or persons high in command, for we can hardly fancy that any under the rank of *legatus* and *tribunus* could afford such costly adornments. The specimens selected for illustration are,—a fibula hinged to a broad, flat plate; a bulla, or button, similarly hinged; and an oblong plaque with perforated boss in the centre. (See figs. 3, 4, and 5.) These several articles were secured with pegs or rivets to leathern straps, employed probably in holding the breast and back-pieces of the *lorica* together, or else to fasten and decorate the *cinctorium* in which the superior officers of the Roman army carried their swords. The niello devices are well adapted to the several portions of the objects, and display a considerable diversity of design for so limited an area.

The cruciformed fibula which I lay before you, and which is stated to have been found in the north of Kent, presents a further but more simple example of Roman nielloing. This trinket is wrought of yellow bronze or brass thinly plated with silver, the transverse beam being sculpted with seven or eight little cavities which are filled with the alloy, and, when new, must have shone like so many dark gems set in a silver bar. As this fibula has already appeared in our *Journal* (xvi, 272), it is needless to say more on the present occasion, and I will therefore pass on to an object of greater novelty discovered near the Roman villa in the village of Halstock, Dorsetshire, and brought to our notice by Mr. J. Moore. (See fig. 6.)

This curious object is of silver, and seems to be a portion of a hook once riveted to the end of a narrow belt for the support of some implement or ornament. The centre of the front is sculpted with the so-called Runic knots and a winged quadruped; the incuse portions being filled with the nigellum, so that the device and verge are silver-white on a blackish field. This device is very peculiar, and well deserves attention. In the museum of the Royal Irish Academy is a strong pendant hook of bronze, nearly three inches in length, the broad front of which is graven with runic knots inlaid with silver and outlined with nigellum.¹ The inter-

¹ It is engraved in Wilde's *Catalogue*, p. 572. The early Irish nielli are of so peculiar a character that they demand a separate notice.

laced strap-work on the fronts of these two hooks are identical in character, and constitute a device which is considered by Irish antiquaries as of purely Hibernian origin; and certain it is that it occurs more frequently on objects found in the sister kingdom than on articles met with in this country, or even in Scotland, where the runic knots still hold place on the brooch and bidag-hilt of the Highlander. The famous copy of the Gospels, known as the *Book of Kells*, executed in Ireland in the sixth century, is profusely embellished with interlaced strap-work, in which figures of men and animals are mingled in a way which may be compared to the subject on the front of the silver hook from Halstock; but the trinket in all probability belongs to an earlier period than the MS.; and we shall not, perhaps, be far out in referring it to the fifth century.

The semicircular or fan-topped fibulæ of silver met with in the Frankish sepulchres of Gaul and Germany and Teutonic graves of England (of which examples are given in this *Journal*, xvi, 274, 312), are frequently embellished with niello, but in a more delicate mode than on objects of an earlier period. These fibulæ are believed to have been wrought on the Continent about the fifth or sixth century.¹

As well-marked instances of the use of niello during the Anglo-Saxon rule, reference may be made to two finger-rings of gold in the national collection,—one found in Lancashire bearing the legend, ÆTHR'ED MEC AH EANRED MEC AGROFT (Æthred owns me, Eanred made me); the other discovered near Salisbury, being the famous trinket of Ethelwulf, king of Wessex (A.D. 836-838), which, in addition to the monarch's name, has on it two birds of strange aspect. Another nielloed ring of gold, the date of which is clearly ascertained, was met with at Llysfaen, Carnarvonshire, and bears the name of Alhstan, bishop of Sherborne A.D. 823-867.²

Nigellum was now in high favour both in this country and abroad, and its employment became more and more general as time rolled on, reaching the *acme* of its glory in the middle of the fifteenth century, when the name of Maso Finiguerra stands forth as the most expert niellatore that the world has ever known.

Utensils for the service of the altar, shrines, paxes, morses, and pastoral staves, book-covers, trinkets of all kinds, caskets,

¹ See *Journal*, xvii, 232.

² See *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1823, p. 483.

and other domestic items, as likewise arms and armour, attest the extensive employment of the nigellum during the best periods of mediæval art. Even the sepulchral brasses partook in some degree of the nature of nielli, the deep lines and channels wrought by the *scorper* being filled in with a black compound, producing an effect brilliant as the metallic alloy on a golden field.¹

The passion for niello decorations seems to have rapidly declined about the dawn of the sixteenth century, few examples being met with after the first quarter of the century; some, perhaps, of the very latest instances of nielloing being found on the broad silver circle of the Highland brooch.²

Having now reviewed the art of nielloing in Europe, let us take a brief glance of its presence in the East. During the middle ages Damascus was the centre of oriental refinement, from which emanated productions rivalling in art and beauty the vaunted works of Venice and Milan; and it is probable that we are indebted to the craftsmen of this Arabian Athens for the finest examples of eastern nielli now extant. Vessels of graceful contour, both for ornament and use, are found decorated with elaborate designs and Kufic legends in nigellum. Sword-hilts and trinketry are also thus adorned; and D'Agincourt, in his *History of Art by its Monuments* (ii, 25), has given a representation of what is considered the earliest celestial globe in existence, in which the brazen surface is sculpted with figures of the constellations; the outlines formed by three channels, the broad centre one being filled with red copper or enamel, and the fine exterior ones with nigellum, the stars being circlets of silver. There are also two Kufic inscriptions, by which we learn that the globe was made for Sultan Alkamel by Caisar ben Abi Alcasem ben Mosafer Alabraki Albanafi, in the year of the Hegira 622 (A.D. 1225).

An alloy, apparently identical with European nigellum, fills the incised decorations of the silver vessels of Siam, Pegu, and other countries of eastern Asia; and closely allied to it is the black compound employed in the embellishment of the *Bidree ware*,—so called from its place of manufac-

¹ That this is no mere figure of speech, see the Flemish brass of a mitred ecclesiastic in the British Museum.

² See *Journal*, xviii, 230.

ture, the town of Bidree in the Deccan. Of this elegant ware I exhibit a fine example in a water-vessel of a hookah, nine inches high. Its material is a metal formed of zinc, copper, and lead; and the surface is richly adorned with foliage, etc., produced by the *champ-levé* process; the sunk portions being filled with an alloy of silver and sulphate of copper. Though this vessel is of considerable age, it may be taken as a type of the art of nielloing as still practised in India; and where, for aught we know, it had arrived at maturity ages before the Etruscan *cælator* had wrought the *manubrium* with which we began our story.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 125.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8.

THE Association quitted Leicester this morning by special train, to proceed to Northampton. The members and visitors, however, first paid a visit to Brixworth, to inspect the very interesting church of that place. Here they were met by the vicar, the Rev. C. F. Watkins, M.A., and several of the county families and their friends, including Sir Chas. and Lady Isham, the Hon. and Rev. Arthur and Mrs. Douglas, the Hon. Henry and Lady Mary Douglas, Henry O. Nethercote, Esq., and Mrs. Nethercote; the Rev. J. L. Roberts, vicar of Spratton; — Lacon, Esq., and Mrs. Lacon; and others belonging to the parish and neighbourhood.

On the party being seated in the church, the Rev. C. F. Watkins gave a very interesting extempore *viva voce* account of the church. He expressed the pleasure he felt in receiving them within those venerable walls; and thought the best course he could pursue, sanctioned as it had been by Mr. Pettigrew, on whom they greatly relied, was to give them a brief and simple statement of the manner in which he had pursued his investigations into the remains of the ancient building, till he had entirely ascertained and developed the whole of the original plan. He would add some observations of his own, and then it would be open to any gentleman to put what questions he might think fit, which he (Mr. Watkins) would answer to the best of his knowledge. It would then remain for Mr. Roberts (and any one else) to offer his remarks upon the subject. By this means considerable parts of the interior, open to their view, would be rendered intelligible; and when they went round the exterior, they would find the developments there more familiar and easy to be understood.

"It is now thirty years," said Mr. Watkins, "since I took possession of this living; and I was naturally struck with the singular appearance of this building, its arches formed of Roman bricks, and every subse-

quent style of architecture interposed up to the time of Henry VI. The only notice that had previously been taken of the church was by your associate, the late Mr. Britton,—that energetic and useful pioneer in archæological matters; and Rickman, the writer on Gothic architecture; both of whom had their attention called to the building by Mr. Baker, the late historian of the county, and his sister. Through the exertions of the latter, some of the brick arches were scraped and laid bare, and the foundation of the outer wall to the north aisle ascertained; but nothing was done to develop the original plan of the building, nor was any plan suggested. Mr. Britton concluded it to have been an Anglo-Roman building; Mr. Rickman a Norman. It appears, however, from the edition of his book in 1835 (eleven years after he had visited Brixworth), that he then classed it amongst the Saxon buildings of the country, though not earlier than those of Barton-on-Humber and Earl's Barton.

“After long, careful examination and mature consideration, I concluded it to have been originally built for a Roman basilica, or hall of justice; or rebuilt by the early Saxons after the Roman type. I met with little encouragement and much opposition in proposing this view. There was at that time a prevailing prejudice against the supposition of the existence of early remains of Saxon architecture of any account, or of anything prior to the Norman period. A hundred years ago prejudice ran the contrary way. If an arch was discovered with any tracery, especially with any chevron work, it was immediately attributed to the Saxons. When that error was exploded, the prejudice ran in a contrary direction, as is usual with mankind, and the Saxons were reported as incompetent for any considerable work.

“The late Marquis of Northampton, and the late rector of Orten Longueville, who had examined numerous architectural remains in Italy and many parts of the Continent, alone encouraged me in this view.

“The first thing I did was to take occasion of the burial of a parishioner in the chancel to make excavations there. I observed in the north-western corner of the exterior two sides remaining of a former polygonal structure, and noticed that the interior of that part curved a little. This led me to infer that it was part of an original apse, polygonal without and semicircular within; and probably with an underground crypt, as in the oldest forms. I therefore made the masons prolong their excavations till they reached, as I suspected, a subterranean wall, ten feet deep, which I made them lay open in its whole extent, till it came to view a perfect semicircle; and I left it open for public inspection from two to three months; but being obliged to close it up, for the performance of the sacred rites, I determined to work in a different quarter. Having observed an opening at the east end of the subterranean wall, I concluded there must have been also a subterra-

nean chamber or corridor on the outside of the wall, for this source of communication ; and if a corridor, or 'ambulatory' as it is sometimes called, a descent to it from the east end of the church. Accordingly I had the wall at the north-east corner, behind where now the organ stands, pierced and opened ; and, after some labour and risk, succeeded in laying bare a circular-headed doorway, from which I doubted not there had been a descent to the cavity below. A serious obstacle presented itself to any investigation without, in the form of a solid embankment as high as the present window ; but, after removing about two hundred loads of earth, I had the satisfaction of revealing the outer wall of the crypt, the doorway and original steps of descent, an outer low subterranean wall encircling the corridor in parallel lines with the original apse,—*i.e.*, polygonal without and semicircular within,—with a recess in one of the sides, receiving a vaulted roof which sprang from the string-course of the wall of the crypt. My next object was to lay open what I concluded would prove to be the north aisle with its apses, which the respective arches seemed to indicate as having existed. Another embankment of earth, up nearly to the windows, again proved an obstruction ; but I at length succeeded in laying open the whole aisle, conterminous with the nave, subdivided into cells, with a terminal square apse at the east end and a rectangular one at the west, the latter formed by the recess from the nave to the square porch. On the south side, where greater obstructions presented themselves in more recent buildings, I made sufficient investigations to assure myself of corresponding parts to those on the north. Thus, abstracting the circular tower at the west, which, by its straight joint and other features, is proved to have been a later appendage to the building, I at length ascertained and developed what I had always inferred and suggested to others,—a complete basilican form in the original building, *viz.*, a square porch, with a main west entrance, opening into apses north and south, and into a nave with four arches of a side (these arches opening into corridors) ; and with clerestory windows above, between each two of the four arches ; a compartment at the east end of the nave, leading into a semicircular apse, and opening into square apses, or terminals to the aisles, at its commencement from the nave.

"And now with respect to this compartment. It is evident that the walls on either side were originally without openings. The first that was made was the smaller arch on the south side, excavated for the purpose of communicating with the present south aisle ; which was built in the early part of the fourteenth century as a chapel for Sir John de Verdun, lord of the manor, whose effigy is now enclosed in an arched recess of the south wall of that aisle. Fifty years later the larger arch was opened, and a clerestory window above. In the north wall of this compartment a Decorated and a Tudor window were afterwards

inserted. The latter is now superseded by a Decorated window, substituted at the time of rebuilding the wall in that part.

"If you look up to the commencement of the large arch which leads from the nave," continued Mr. Watkins, "you will perceive the spring of an early brick arch, which was supposed (Rickman suggested this) to have spanned the whole width of the church; but it is evidently too small for such a compass, neither is there sufficient pier to support such an arch. I suspect that it was only a small clerestory arch, corresponding to the opposite one at the east end, for the purpose of throwing light into the choir from the clerestory of the nave, as those at the east end did from without the building; and that there must have been a central or triumphal arch corresponding to that which leads into the chancel, with side walls and round-headed doors, and clerestory windows over them, in counterpart to the east end. On burying a corpse near to the crossing I had the excavation continued till I arrived at the bases of the central piers; thus verifying all that I had inferred respecting this building.

"I shall not detain you at present by any particular account of the Basilica in general; but simply state that it was originally a building in which the royal and sacerdotal functions, as united in one person, were exhibited,—the civil and religious authorities exercised by the same individual; the '*Rex Anius atque sacerdos*' having its type, as I can aver from long research, in the earliest periods of most ancient nations, and necessitating such a construction in this form of building.

"When Mr. Poole, several years ago, read a paper on Brixworth Church, before the members of our local Architectural Society, I added some observations of a supplementary character, and to this purport, that I was convinced we should some day find the origin, not only of the circular brick arch called the Roman, but of the Basilica itself, in the plains of Shinar. Some time afterwards, on going to the British Museum to inspect the slabs from Nineveh, I discovered the type of one of our Saxon arches on one of the blocks, and beside it a type of the Norman arch with its chevron work; and I had the satisfaction of subsequently hearing Mr. Layard describe, at a meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, the foundation of a Basilica in the ruins of Nineveh, corresponding in its several details to that of Brixworth."

Dr. Lee said that he was sure the members of the society would feel, as he did, extremely gratified and obliged to Mr. Watkins for his very able and interesting lecture; and

Mr. Roberts was then called upon to offer such observations as he desired to make. He said he had been anticipated in most of what he had intended, by the address of Mr. Watkins; but offered several supplementary remarks connected with the building, derived from his own personal observations. He pointed out what he thought had not

been noticed before,—a rise in the arches from west to east, and a consequent succession of gradients, which he considered a solecism ; but Mr. Watkins said he had long observed it, and frequently pointed it out to visitors ; and that he had notice of more than one instance of the kind, though he could not at that moment recollect his authorities. The purport of their rising to the east was supposed to be *pro honore*. Mr. Roberts then suggested an ambulatory round the original chancel as well as round the crypt, which the splayed piers that now looked like buttresses, would warrant.

Mr. Watkins said it was a novel supposition, and he saw no objection to it.

Mr. Roberts further suggested that the square tower was a later appendage to the nave, as he found the wall straight-jointed within.

Mr. Watkins replied that it was dovetailed on the outside, and of the same peculiar formation, as well as connexion with, the apses and aisles, so that it could hardly be supposed of later date.

Subsequently Mr. Watkins called on Mr. Roberts, and discussed the matter, when it was agreed that the square porch had been built up against the wall of the nave, but not at a later date ; probably because the first porch had settled, and required to be taken down ; or as a substitution for a Roman porch which was found unstable.¹

Returning thanks to Mr. Watkins for his most obliging attention and hospitality, the party quitted Brixworth for Northampton, where they were received by the mayor (H. P. Markham, Esq.) and corporation at the town-hall with a hearty welcome, and immediately proceeded to inspect the various charters and other ancient documents belonging to the corporation. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., who had kindly offered to conduct the Association upon their view of the antiquities of the town, said he felt it an honour to be allowed to say a few words to so distinguished a body of archæologists as he had the pleasure of seeing there, respecting a town in the neighbourhood of which he resided. He would not go to the Danish or Anglo-Saxon period of its history ; but would mention that Richard Cœur de Lion granted its first charter, that Simon de St. Liz is supposed to have built its castle and the circular part of St. Sepulchre's Church. He thought, too, that he also built the church of St. Peter's in connection with the castle, but for this they had no historic authority. In 1265 the castle was besieged by Henry III, and Simon de Montfort beaten out of it. In 1369 a great crusade was published here, and in consequence great numbers went out to the Holy Land. Parliaments

¹ We rejoice to learn that it is the intention of Mr. Watkins to publish an entire account of the church ; and to render the subject complete, the researches of Mr. Roberts will appear in a paper, with illustrations, in the next number of the *Journal*.

were held here in the reigns of Richard II and III; the last was in 1381. He now came to the great catastrophe by which, in 1675, the town was burnt, a calamity which would explain why so few old houses still exist. The whole of the Drapery, and great part of the buildings surrounding this hall, happily escaped. In going over the town they would find very few buildings of a date anterior to 1675.

Mr. Hartshorne then read the following paper—

ON QUEEN ELEANOR'S CROSS AT NORTHAMPTON.

"In offering to the notice of the Archæological Association a few remarks on the Cross erected to the memory of Queen Eleanor, I fear I can bring forward but very little that is already unknown to them. But it may sometimes happen that a few observations uttered on the spot, and recently brought together, may have the advantage of recalling what has escaped from the memory. I cannot assume much beyond doing this at the present moment. It is the usual practice with myself and others who attempt to explain architectural monuments to view them in the first instance through the medium of those historical documents which remain, such as records and chronicles, and then to apply these materials to the objects themselves.

"With respect to the remarkable one under consideration, there have fortunately been preserved some Expense Rolls, which give us nearly all the information that can be desired. These were printed by our late President, Mr. Botfield, in an extremely interesting volume for the Roxburgh Club in 1841. As, however, the volume was limited to private distribution, it is of such difficulty of access, that I must necessarily use it more freely than one in general circulation. And here, again, I may probably repeat observations I have myself made on Queen Eleanor's Cross in the *Historical Memorials of Northampton*. But a repetition of this kind is unavoidable, since it is impossible to obtain fresh facts on every occasion. We must, therefore, be content by means of the increasing knowledge we have of mediæval architecture to apply more closely the extracts I shall bring forward; and in that respect, more particularly as we are on the spot, a little may, I think, be added to the general history of this truly beautiful work of antiquity.

"During the reign of Henry III the English possessions in Gascony were much disturbed, and the king found it necessary to support himself both against Simon de Montfort, who had treacherously given up some of the principal fortresses, and also against Gaston de Bearn, the chief person who opposed him. This prince had indeed gone to implore the assistance of Alphonso, King of Castile. The royal debts were heavy. There were difficulties in raising supplies for a war; and with the

prospect of the King of Castile also being in arms against the English, Henry thought it would be more prudent to attempt negotiation with him, to propose a league, and to secure his friendship by the marriage of Prince Edward his eldest son with Eleanor, the half-sister of the King of Castile. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the Spanish court to request her in marriage for his son Edward, upon whom he had already settled the sovereignty of Guienne. Alphonso complied with this request on condition that the prince should be sent into Spain to complete it. To this Henry, after some hesitation, assented, and in 1254 Edward proceeded to Burgos, where he was graciously received by Alphonso, who knighted him, and celebrated the marriage with great pomp. The prince and his bride returned to Bordeaux, bringing with them a charter bearing a golden seal, by which the Spanish sovereign relinquished, in favour of them and their heirs, all claims upon the province of Guienne.

"The English did not regard this alliance with any favour. They said the King knew the habits and religion of the Spaniards, who were the very refuse of mankind, hideous in their persons, contemptible in their dress, and detestable in their manners. According to the statements of Matthew Paris it was a most unpopular match, though there can be no doubt it was a source of the greatest domestic happiness to the prince. Henry left Guienne in 1254. The prince and his wife remained till the following year. The apprehensions of the English with regard to this marriage were shortly verified. For soon after Eleanor's brother and a Spanish nobleman came over as ambassadors, as it was currently supposed, under the expectation of receiving valuable presents from the King. It does not, however, appear that they were personally any great gainers by their mission.

"Eleanor landed at Dover in October (39 Henry III), and on the 17th reached London, where she was welcomed by Henry with much kindness. He presented her with a silver alms dish, besides pieces of arras and gold cloth, the latter being sent to her for her arrival at Dover. These, with golden fermails and brooches, were intended for the princess to present at the shrines of St. Thomas at Canterbury and St. Edward at Westminster on her way to the metropolis. The preparations that had been made for her reception were very unpopular with the citizens, who, as the chronicler says, were deeply grieved on a careful consideration of the pleasure manifested by the king at the presence of any foreigners.

"From the year 1256 to the time when Eleanor accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land but little is known of her. She probably resided at Guildford, or one of the royal castles, most likely at Guildford, as apartments were ordered to be constructed here for her use in 1268. In 1271 she sailed with her husband for the Holy Land. It is

almost superfluous to mention the affectionate care she evinced over her husband whilst he was occupied in this great Crusade, for the story of her endeavour to extract the poison from the wound he had received from an assassin is too well known to require repetition. It may however be stated, as this circumstance has been disputed on slight grounds, that its truth seems fully established by the narrative, and Vikes and Heminford, two contemporary historians. It was in consequence of the Crusade preached at Northampton by Ottoboni in 1268 that Edward took up the cross and passed over to the Holy Land, with one hundred and four knights, besides eighteen nobles, who assumed it from the legate at the same time. Edward returned to England on August 1, 1274, and a fortnight afterwards was crowned in Westminster. In 1286 the affairs of Guienne required his presence in that province. He remained absent three years, two months, and fifteen days. The Chronicle of Lanercost states that whilst he was abroad on this occasion, he and his queen sitting on the bedside together and conversing, they narrowly escaped being killed by lightning. The electric fluid, passing through a window, struck two females behind them, and caused their death. We hear very little of Queen Eleanor from this time until her death;—a circumstance that shows how entirely she devoted herself to her husband and her domestic duties. No doubt she accompanied him in his various movements during the protracted wars with the Welsh and the Scotch. Edward had arrived in England in August 1289. In the same month, in 1290, we find him in Northamptonshire. I will not trace, from the Itinerary of his reign that I have drawn up,¹ his residence day by day at Silveston, Blisworth, Yardley, Northampton, Geddington, and Rockingham. I will merely state that he was at Northampton, no doubt resident in the castle, from August 17th to August 29th, when he passed northwards to Kings Clipston in Nottinghamshire. On the 20th of November we find him at Hardby, where he remained until the 28th, on the evening of which day Queen Eleanor died in the house of Richard de Weston. The Queen died of a low and lingering fever. The latest date on which we find any mention of the king and queen as being together is when they were here in the month of August, on which occasion a messenger was paid for carrying their joint letters to Clare Earl of Gloucester. On the 28th of October there is a payment of one mark to Henry Montpellier for syrup and other medicines purchased at Lincoln for the queen's use. During her illness she was attended by her household physician, Master Leopard, to whom she bequeathed a legacy of twenty marks. For three days after her decease no public business was transacted. Her body was immediately opened and embalmed. I well remember reading in her Wardrobe

¹ See *Collectanea Archaeologica*, vol. ii, part 1.

Account, sold a few years since by auction in London, the entries relating to this process, the cost of the myrrh and frankincense, and, what struck me as more remarkable, a charge for barley for filling the body. The viscera were deposited in the cathedral of Lincoln. Her heart was conveyed by her own desire for sacred interment in the church of the Black Friars in London. The Expense Rolls of the executors give full particulars of the cost of executing the monuments erected at each of these places.

"The king himself was at Lincoln on the 2nd and 3rd of December, at Northampton on the 9th, at St. Alban's on the 13th, at London the following day. The account left us by the annalist of Dunstable of the circumstances attending the arrival of the funeral train at this monastery, represents generally what occurred at every place where the funeral procession halted. After noting the death of the queen, he says 'her body passed through our town, and rested one night. Two precious cloths, baudekyns, were given unto us. Of wax we had eight pounds and more. And when the body of the said queen was departing from Dunstable, the bier rested in the centre of the Market Place until the king's chancellor and the great men then and there present had marked a fitting place where they might afterwards erect a cross of wonderful size; our prior being present, and sprinkling holy water.'

"The queen was buried with great magnificence, at the feet of her husband's father, in Westminster Abbey, on the 17th of December; and on the 12th her heart was deposited in the church of the Black Friars, where a chapel was afterwards built for its reception. The king remained at Westminster for a week afterwards, and then went to Ashridge, where he dwelt in melancholy seclusion for a month.

"According to the usage of the time, splendid and perpetual commemorations of her death were enjoined in several places. Her anniversary was celebrated also at Peterborough and other abbeys with great liberality.

"It has been stated by Walsingham that crosses were erected at the spots where her body rested on its way from Hardby to London. Thus we have mention made, in the Expense Rolls, of a cross at Lincoln, at Northampton, Stoney Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, and St. Alban's; all of them the work of John de Bello. These were all erected between 1291 and 1294. As the entries of payment for these works mingle them together, it is difficult to ascertain what was the cost of any one; but, proceeding by way of equal distribution, John de Battle would receive £134 for the cross at Northampton, exclusive of the payments for statues, which were the work of William de Ireland, who received five marks for each of them. Robert, the son of Henry, a burgess of Northampton, received £40 and sixty marks, for laying down a causeway from Northampton to the cross,—as it is said, '*pro animâ reginæ*,'

the construction of such a work being deemed an act of devotion. There are also payments of £25 and seven marks made to Robert de Corfe and to William de Ireland for a 'virga,' a head, and ring ('pro virgis, capitibus, et anulis'),—architectural terms, which involve some difficulty in explanation.

"The exquisite representations of the queen were sculptured in London by William de Ireland, 'imaginator,' or the sculptor. William de Bernak, mason, received 73s. 4d. for their carriage, and that of the head and lance of the cross, from London.

"Doubts have often been raised as to the manner in which the cross was terminated; but an entry on the accounts leads me to suppose it was finished by a figure,—most likely that of the Virgin, as William de Ireland was paid £6 : 3 : 4 on one occasion, for making five images for the cross at Northampton. Therefore it is evident that a figure of some kind was imposed above the four of the queen now remaining. A desire has been often expressed to see the summit completed; but as long as it is highly uncertain what was the original termination, it would be injudicious to attempt what must necessarily be a fanciful and unsanctioned restoration.

"Lincoln cross, built by Richard of Stowe (*cementarius*); Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, and St. Alban's, built by John de Bello; Waltham by Roger de Crundale and Dymenge de Liges; Cheap by Michael of Canterbury, who died before it was finished; when the works were carried on by Roger de Crundale, joint builder of Waltham cross.

"The decorative parts of some of these monuments were worked in London, and sent to their several sites. The figures of Eleanor, bearing a general resemblance to the effigies of Toral (from which they were probably copied), were carved by Alexander of Abingdon and William of Ireland; the latter of whom did some portions of the crosses at Lincoln and Northampton.

"In conclusion, it may be desirable to make a few remarks on the effigies of Queen Eleanor herself, that are so graceful in their draperies and so replete with dignity and classical beauty. Flaxman said that the statues of Henry III and Eleanor, in Westminster Abbey, partook of the character and grace particularly cultivated in the school of Pisano; and it is not unlikely that these statues may have been done by some of his numerous scholars. The Executorial Rolls printed by Mr. Botfield bear out this conjecture, as they state that the designer of the effigies of Eleanor at Westminster and Lincoln was William Toral, a goldsmith. Her statue was modelled in wax; and there is an entry for bringing seven hundred and twenty-six pounds from the house of Toral. This enables us to account for the resemblance that exists betwixt the queen's effigy in Westminster Abbey and the countenance

as exhibited in this cross and that of Northampton. The features of all these figures are precisely the same. They bear indisputable marks of coming from the same chisel. This remarkable resemblance was evidently the result of all of them being sculptured by the same artist.

“Three of these crosses still remain. Those at Northampton and Waltham are included in the Expense Rolls. The one at Geddington is not mentioned: this is still in excellent preservation. As a work of art it is, however, unequal to the two others, though in itself admirable in design and workmanship. It was evidently the work of a different artist. The diapered pattern running up the shaft is singularly elegant. We must accept all of them, however, as the most faithful copies of the copper-gilt effigies at Westminster that could be executed. The placid expression that is stamped on the queen’s countenance could have been no imaginary creation; and in looking upon it we may believe we have before us as faithful a resemblance of this illustrious lady as it was possible to produce at the period. These monuments must always be regarded as the most beautiful specimens of British sculpture we possess. For refinement and serenity, for the feeling of majesty and repose they exhibit, they can scarcely be surpassed. Unquestionably they are the faithful reflections of Eleanor herself.

“It would be difficult to conceive more suitable memorials than these to testify the feeling of regret that has pervaded all England under the recent loss it has sustained in the death of its most illustrious Prince. Those who come after us would gaze upon them as we do, but with still higher associations and deeper sentiments of admiration; because, whilst the crosses of Eleanor call merely to remembrance her domestic graces, a monument to Prince Albert would be a memorial to declare to posterity how cherished has he ever been in his adopted country, and how sincerely beloved for his spotless character and his public virtue.”

The President having returned thanks to the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne for his interesting paper, withdrew with the members and visitors from the Town Hall, and proceeded to St. Sepulchre’s Church, where Mr. Roberts observed that the church was under extensive alterations and renewal, and he would therefore restrict the few remarks he had to make to the round portion of the church which was not in the hands of the workmen. He said it was one of the four existing in this country, excluding such as that at Ludlow Castle. He regretted to see this one so crowded with modern pews, fittings, and other impediments to a free examination. Many previous changes had been made in the construction, such as openings made and others filled up; sculptures inserted, others obscured and altered. To these he pointed as he proceeded. He remarked on the peculiarity of the pillars, and reminded his hearers of the modern appearances in the upper part of the interior.

All the round churches are of about the same date originally; and although this retained more of the early work, yet the church, like the others, was later; as though at first the round part was intended, contrary to the ordinary custom, for first use, and the eastern part afterwards. He advocated the clearing away of all the recent work, but by no means a restoration in the present acceptation of the word. When the church was again fit for service, he hoped that the pulpit and pews and the other modern encumbrances, would be cleared away, and the building simply but thoroughly cleaned and preserved.

The party then took a hasty view of All Saints' Church; thence to the new Town Hall and St. Giles' Church, arriving at the George Hotel, where a luncheon had been prepared. It was presided over by the President, who was supported by the Mayor of Northampton (H. P. Markham, Esq.); Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart.; Rev. C. H. Hartshorne; J. R. Planché, Esq.; E. F. Law, Esq.; E. Roberts, Esq.; Mrs. Roberts, Miss Hartshorne, and a large party of ladies and gentlemen.

Dr. Lee recalled the attention of the members of the society to the very great kindness and urbanity with which they had been received in Northampton. They had come here merely on an occasional visit. When he went to Leicester he was hardly aware that the society contemplated paying a visit to Northampton; but when they received so courteous and polite an invitation, it was unanimously resolved to try to manage it somehow or other; therefore they had come. They had found nothing but friends about and around them; and he hoped that the members of the British Archæological Association would join with him in returning their most heartfelt thanks to the mayor and corporation for the very courteous reception with which they had been favoured.

The Mayor of Northampton responded on behalf of the corporation for the honour which the society had conferred on the borough by paying it a visit.

Sir C. R. Boughton proposed the health of their old friend, the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne. He felt assured that the Association which had the good fortune to number him amongst its members, would unite in thanking him cordially for the excellent paper which he had read that morning; for, to use words which Mr. Hartshorne himself had employed, he had given them the pith of a great many dry records through which he had searched; and they who merely heard the most amusing subject, upon which he dilated in such well-turned language, could hardly think of the great work of searching through so many records which would greatly puzzle many of them. He felt sure that in that assembly he should not find one person who would not join with him very readily in drinking Mr. Hartshorne's health, and thanking him for the paper which he had read to them that morning.

The Rev. Mr. Hartshorne responded with his usual felicity of expression.

The Mayor of Northampton proposed the next toast. It had been rarely his lot, he said—and he had seen something of public meetings—to be presided over by a gentleman so amiable, so excellent, and so universally respected, as the gentleman who had presided over them that day. His time was short; and he felt convinced he need not, in Dr. Lee's presence, say one word. He knew Dr. Lee was a great favourite with all of them. He proposed the health of the President.

Dr. Lee returned his most grateful thanks for that mark of their approbation of his conduct.

Mr. Roberts said they had that day come out of one county into another; and they would not have another opportunity of giving thanks to those with whom they had met, through the Mayor, except on that occasion. He must, in the first place, acknowledge the great kindness he had received from Mr. Watkins in making some examinations and researches into Brixworth Church. He was quite sure that all had been pleased with what they had seen of the remains of that old church. No doubt Mr. Watkins had been at considerable expense as well as pains about it; but then he loved his subject, and was very properly proud of his church. He was quite sure that all his brethren of that Association would agree with him in thanking Mr. Watkins for the opportunity he had given them of making inquiries, as well as for the paper he had read upon his church. They must also thank the clergy of this town for the very ready manner in which they had thrown open their churches,—both those which they had seen, and those which they had yet to see; one of which (St. Peter's) was one of the most striking examples of Norman work in this country. He proposed to them to drink the healths of the clergy of Northampton.

The Rev. H. L. Elliot responded. He would not detain them from the very interesting things they had yet to see. If other clergymen in the town had been as anxious as himself that the members of the society should visit the town, he was sure they had been amply repaid. They were pleased that the society should see their churches, and pleased to learn from them what they were so well calculated to teach.

The members then left the George Hotel, and proceeded to Queen's Cross. Mr. Irvine, in the course of some observations, stated in reference to the terminal, that it probably was a tri-finial having three statues: one in the centre, and two on arms spreading from the base; the centre one higher than those on the branches, and representing the crucifixion. He made a sketch shewing, in his judgment, how these figures were placed. This drawing shewed the composition as spreading considerably over the base of the structure.

After an examination of some minutes duration, Mr. Roberts requested

permission from the President to make a few remarks. He said that they had already heard the history of that cross, and others connected with the same event, from Mr. Hartshorne. He could not lay claim to any of the local knowledge which Mr. Hartshorne possessed, nor to any other knowledge of those crosses than that of having seen the one at Waltham. But he might venture, perhaps, from the general knowledge which he had of the mouldings and works of the period, to say that there was very little of the decorative work of this cross which remained as it was originally executed. He had that morning addressed to them some remarks upon the style of the work which was done in the time of Mr. Blore, and the comparatively limited knowledge which the architects of that day possessed. He was not, however, prepared to see so marvellous a change as that which had been introduced in that cross. There was not a moulding which had been put in which at all approached the style of the architecture which preceded it. There was not a form there which, he believed, existed at the time when Mr. Blore took his drawings for the purpose of restoration.¹ His opinion was rather confirmed by the panelling. Not one of those mouldings, he believed, existed as they now were before the restoration. He thought that they might find about it some original work; but the filling-in, he thought, was purely conjectural. Then, again, he might refer to the cornice which surmounted the first part of the structure. He was thoroughly persuaded that there was no authority whatever for what had been placed there. It was altogether too late; and a very coarse representation of later work. The upper part seemed to him to be very much more pure and intact. He would not venture an opinion upon the base of the octagon termination, upon which Mr. Irvine said the crucifixion was represented. He (Mr. Roberts) thought it very unlikely that the subject was of such a nature, or that the figures spread to any extent as that they would destroy the pyramidal nature of the building; and he had no doubt the pyramidal form was the rule. He was not aware of any departure from that principle; and he could not believe that any figures which would destroy its pyramidal character, were ever put there. He was certain that there could have been no destruction of the line, which was a rule with mediæval architecture. In order however, not to be misunderstood, he must limit his objection to the change in the mouldings. The four-centered arches were of a very impure character; they were never so built at that period. He did not know of anything like them. This was an instance of the great injury which was done in restoring ancient buildings. It might be seen in a

¹ It has since been ascertained that there was an extensive "restoration" (!) in Queen Anne's time. This is sufficient to account for all the impurities and alterations; and entirely absolves Mr. Blore and the advocates of the purity of the cross, in reference to the latest repairs, from any complicity in the baseness of some of the parts.

moment that the form only was there. The four-centered arches of the panelling were evidently of a later period than the general character of the cross.

Mr. Law had no hesitation in saying that they were all pure, and as they had been in the original design.

Mr. Roberts considered he was in error, and pointed to several mouldings which were not pure.

Mr. Law said he had seen the cross at Waltham, and he had no hesitation in saying that the character of the work was precisely similar. There was only one great difference between them,—one was hexagonal and the other octagonal.

Mr. Irvine reminded Mr. Roberts of the tomb of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey; and said there was a considerable resemblance between the existing work on the cross and the tomb of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey, especially in the form of the shields.

Mr. Roberts said that there was no more resemblance, in fact, to Waltham Cross than in the general outline; and that the tomb in Westminster Abbey, of which he knew every line, was happily *unrestored*, and was a model of purity; and the details of this cross bore not any resemblance to it. He would apply the Westminster test to this cross, and it would be found wanting. The outlines of the shields were, however, similar.

Mr. Law pointed to the panels, and urged that the stone was evidently original; and Sir C. R. Boughton thought so.¹

Having terminated this discussion, the party returned to Leicester by train, and an evening meeting was held, the President in the chair.

Mr. Drake read a paper, "On some of the Advantages of Antiquarian Research," from which, as specially applicable to our pursuits, we make the following extracts:

"An enlightened mind beholds all things in their true and natural light, and, in return, receives such lessons of the true and the beautiful as they are intended to convey. Such an one does not think the reach of his own chain the very verge of all intelligence; but walks abroad eyes open, ears open, soul open, and so the balmy air of thought and the sunshine of knowledge pour in their flood of effulgency, and we breathe, and long to breathe, a nobler, purer empyrean. That antiquaries should meet to discuss the history of our ruins, churches, castles, roads, temples; astronomers, of planets and stars; and geologists of fauna and flora, is all natural enough: but what is there equally connected with, and equally pervading all they are engaged upon, which causes their hearts to burn within them for mutual communication? Surely each would declare the delight which the disclosure begets in him, and the privilege he feels in being endowed with

¹ This "originality" would now appear to have reference to the last century.

faculties which enable him to soar above the common pursuits of life, and above the paltry vexations and disappointments inherent in them. This is, indeed, a magnificent induction—a consilience there is no refusing—and leads us to look onwards through the long vistas of time with chastened but confident assurance. Created, as we are, intellectually, in the image of the Eternal, there are of necessity affections, desires, aspirations in the human breast which nothing can satisfy but the free exercise of those faculties which the Eternal has implanted in us.

“We walk amid the aisles of some dusty minster, whose walls are narrative of hoar antiquity, and sit in the carved oaken stalls where so many generations of monks have sat whilst the dim vapours were rolling across the windows, emblazoned with curious figures and laughing with gay colours; and overhead are faces which have an expression of wonder, and seem as if just startled from their sleep, and we become spell-bound, as if entranced in some romance: yet these are characteristic of the early and middle ages, and persuade us of the truth of history, and the ‘Dead Past’ becomes to us the ‘Living Present.’ It is our duty to woo the immortal spirits of the past as well as of the future; for the circumstances by which we are surrounded are for a higher purpose than mere physical existence. They engirdle us like an invisible but adamant chain, not to fetter but to guard, and with silver cords connect the inner life with the outer. When we learn to behold in every relic of the past the eloquent record of former generations—the evidence of how they lived, and planned, and thought—we not only elevate the understanding and enlighten the mind, but also learn that grander lesson—

‘To justify the ways of God to man.’

Mystical temples, vast mounds, gigantic monoliths belong to an age in which civilization was struggling upwards; but probably antecedent to this age there lies entombed another great human period in which geology and archæology meet and embrace: and I wish expressly to call the attention of archæologists to this new field for their researches. All the honour must not be left to the geologist. There is an immense field, I may say, opening out before us, and results of immense importance hang upon the issues. We, as antiquaries, must not ignore the fact that, before the Briton formed his coracle, or the Druid his concentric circles, there lived upon this island another and a different race of men. Who they were, or whence they came, is yet involved in considerable doubt. Whether to connect the monoliths and trilithons of our island with this early race I know not. It is evident the ‘stone age’ must be vastly extended; and here it is geology steps in to our aid by informing us whether the strata in which certain relics are

found belong to the Quaternary period or not—whether the glacial age came upon and entombed man and his works or not. Let me earnestly beg you to keep special watch, through yourselves and friends, on all digging and cutting in the ‘drift,’ clays, and gravels of our country. Every flint, every bone is of great importance; and not less important is it to take special notes of all the circumstances connected with the finding. In this county (Leicester) and neighbourhood are many hard workers, and the result is some success within the last twelve months—1st, the now very celebrated Muskham skull, and bones and relics, which I had the pleasure of introducing to notice, and which belong to a period antecedent to that denominated ‘Ancient British;’ 2nd, the Anglo-Saxon bones found and brought into notice by my friend, William Ingram, Esq., at Melton Mowbray, and recorded in the transactions of our local society; and 3rd, the bones found by some workmen under the foundations of the old Bow Bridge of this town, now destroyed. This bridge being so intimately connected with Richard III, gave intense interest to the human bones; and it was at first reported that the bones of the king had been found. However, on examination, the human skull and bones were said to belong to a female, and that the ‘race’ was the same as that to which the celebrated Muskham skull belonged. I demurred to this; and a further examination by Mr. Charles Carter Blake, of London, has confirmed my opinion. The skull exhibits the oval contour of the existing type of Englishmen, and has little in common with the Muskham skull. The other bones found with these human bones were the bones of the extinct ox (*Bos primigenius*) and the *Equus caballus*. Some skulls were also dug up in Leicester, a short time since, along with Roman pottery; but I have sent them to Professor Huxley for examination, and therefore cannot yet give any opinion about them. I very much wish I could have placed all these relics before you, but they have not been returned from London. A photograph of the Muskham skull lies on the table, and some of the bones of the extinct deer (*Cervus megaceros*).

“Now, though the result of these investigations is a chapter without date, without a title, and without a beginning; yet, how intensely interesting it is, the present agitation in the world of thought signifies. I had almost said the chapter was without an end; but the end would seem to be rather plain, in the glacial catastrophe which so gradually crept over this and other lands.

“Of the Prehistoric periods, then, we know absolutely nothing from tradition or written documents. Archæology and geology alone step in and fill up the gap. What we do know is due to these twin sisters entirely. Passing from these to Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, how little, after all that we possess in books, should we know of them but for archæology, and the labours of her husbandmen—Layard, Rawlin-

son, Champollion, and others. These are some of the more important advantages which antiquarian research has done for us.

"The Greek and Roman empires have joined the famous nations of the dead, and their works lighten many a dark page of their history. Our forefathers, the Anglo-Saxons, have left us many remnants of their early piety, which to every Briton should form an intensely interesting study. Christianity gradually spread over the land; and the great connecting links between the past and the present of the *era yclept* the Christian *era*, rise up in the glorious ecclesiastical edifices that we are now at last beginning to look upon with the love and the admiration due to their worth; and, as a result, to preserve and restore. In this all antiquaries are ultra-conservatives; and I may say, to our glory, that by our means many an act of Vandalism has been spared the country. But along with Christianity, in our own country at least, arose feudalism and its accompanying chivalry; and the remains left us by this age, though of the highest interest, are significant of brute force. In this age, too, there naturally arose a revival of the heraldic device,—at present almost an unmeaning thing. Heraldry, in the early time, was pregnant with significance. The chiefs of families and nations found it exceedingly useful as a distinctive badge: indeed, looking at it in this light, it has ever been a necessity. We may trace it in the phonetic characters of India, China, and Mexico; in the double shields of ancient Egypt, and the symbolical standards of Nineveh. The twelve tribes of Israel were distinguished by the devices given them by Jacob. In all nations, savage and civilized, the heraldic device is part of their history. It must be evident that here, too, antiquarian research is most valuable.

"That there is enchantment in antiquarian research must be evident to every unbiassed mind, even though such person himself does not feel the influence of the enchanter's rod. When our antiquities are capable of calling into play such feelings as I have endeavoured to describe, their effect upon the body politic, upon the nation at large, must be of the best description, and essentially *practical* in their ultimate bearings for the weal of man. What is a nation without its antiquity, and what is a people without its antiquities? Are they not the cement of the peoples, the consolidation of empires? Look at America, and look at England! The one full of restlessness, fever; the other steady, sedate, reserved. The one without the God-like *old*, from which alone the heaven-like *new* can be evolved; the other replete with the sublimest lessons, taught her alone by her antiquities, which survive like wrecks upon the ancient sands of time. Nothing can be more beautifully suggestive than the ideas conveyed to the mind by our antiquities,—ideas calculated to soften the stubborn heart, to cheer the melancholy, to exalt the lowly, to teach the ignorant, and to impress on the mind the

wondrous lovingkindness of the All-Father. Within them live the echoes awakened in ages long since past: they symbolize the mighty impulses of the nation, together with the mutability of all human affairs, even whilst they express grandeur, durability, and beauty: they commemorate the political strength and moral elevation of the people, and they are the epitome of the progression of human intelligence."

Mr. G. R. Wright then, in the absence of Dr. Wilson Pearson, read the principal portions of a paper "On the Mediæval History and Antiquities of Castle Donington"; but as it has been printed and published by the author, it needs scarcely more than to be referred to in these pages. We are, however, tempted to give a few passages, being so immediately connected with the excursion of the preceding day:

"The church (Donington) consists of a nave, a chancel, and two side-aisles, with a tower and spire of upwards of a hundred and eighty feet. The tower and spire, with its graceful lancet-windows, are Early English; and were probably built by Henry Laci, Earl of Lincoln, about 1278. There are four Gothic arches on each side of the nave. The south pillars are circular with octagon capitals, one of which is ornamented with dog-toothing. In the chancel is a plain piscina, with three stalls Early English. In the Edward Chapel (south aisle) there is likewise a piscina, with two stalls: these, with the south and south-east window, and the entrance through the south galilee, are fine specimens of Early English architecture. The north pillars are octagon; and in the Mary Chapel, at the east end of the north aisle, there is a Tudor window, probably set in at the time the chantry was there appointed, about 1509. The roof of the chancel and nave were originally high-pitched; and such an elevation of the roof must have given a much more imposing and finished appearance to the building externally. The clerestory windows evidently belong to a later period, and were probably added when the roof was lowered. The corbels on which the original roof rested still remain, and are deserving of especial notice. The font is octagon, with shields, on which are roses and crosses alternately.

"The entrance to the rood-loft has been built up; but the doorway is still distinctly defined. On the exterior of the south side are two ornamental canopies, in which figures formerly existed. The south side has battlements; but they have been removed from the north side. A portion of the spire fell some years since; and in rebuilding it the shaft was shortened, so that the summit of the present spire is entirely out of proportion with its base.

"In an Easter tomb near the altar, on the north side of the chancel, repose the remains of some celebrated ecclesiastic. The effigy in stone has been very much defaced. Some antiquarian writers have supposed

it to be that of an abbot (perhaps Sir William de Clowne); and others contend that it is that of one of the priors of Norton.

"Several, if not all, of the windows were formerly glazed with painted glass, on which different armorial devices were portrayed. The old east end window contained the arms of the Priory of Norton; and it is a matter for regret that this window was ever removed. Who could look at it without thinking of that brave Baron of Haulton, who, in 1120, gave liberally of his substance to promote the glory of God; and, *inter alia*, the patronage of Castle Donington living, to the Priory of Norton, which he founded. This living belonged to that convent at the time of the dissolution of religious houses, and was evidently a valuable piece of preferment; for in the 19th of Edward I (1291) it was taxed at thirty marks,—just the salary paid in those days to a judge. True, the holy prior of Norton had his picking out of it of four marks; but then it is recorded that in those days parish priests could live decently on eight marks *per annum*,—for the state allowance for an imprisoned bishop and three attendants was not more than 3*s.* *per diem*. In the 17th of Edward III (1344), the rectory was taxed at thirty marks, and 2*s.* for 'Peter's pence.' A century later, in a book of fifteenths and tenths granted by the laity, Castle Donington was rated at five marks, and the living at twenty-seven marks (a large sum in those days), as thirty marks were the qualification of a justice of the peace; and a fat ox could be bought for four marks, and a goose for 6*d.* In the 25th of Henry VIII (1534) £8 was the value of the living. At the dissolution of religious houses the large tithes were alienated; previous to that period the vicars were generally selected from the canons of the Priory of St. Mary, Norton. Stevens, in his *Monasticon*, records several interesting particulars relating to this benefice; and such are some of the historical associations which a glance at the east end window, as it originally existed, would naturally inspire.

"In the east window of the south aisle there used likewise to be a picture of a knight in armour, and his wife kneeling opposite to him; and in the southern windows were emblazoned various devices and impalements of the Staunton family. All these have long since passed away; and the only memorial in this church of their grandeur and greatness, is the splendid mediæval brass of which I have presented the society with a rubbing. This brass has been much mutilated, and the inscription partly broken off and taken away; but what is left reads thus: 'Staunton Armigeri et Agnes Uxor dei (dicti) Roberti, quæ obiit 18 die mensis Julii, anno Domini —0—458, et dictus Robert obiit die mensis — anno Domini millesimo 400, quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.' A scroll proceeds from the mouth of the lady, on which is graven the ejaculation, 'Illuminet suum super nos, et misereatur nostri.' This family is of very ancient origin, and Harold was their

original patronymic. In the time of William II they possessed many fair manors and much influence. They were early located at Staunton, and assumed their surname after that place in the reign of King John. 'Richard, who was the grandson of Alan de Lecha (who had grants of land at Staunton before the year 1141), and son of Harold de Lecha, lord of the manor of Staunton, took the surname of Staunton about the year 1200, and was a liberal benefactor to the priory at Breedon.' From him descended Thos. de Staunton, who in the time of Richard II was High Steward of Donington Castle. This distinction appears to have been hereditary in the family; for in the reign of Henry VII, in an act of resumption, provision is made that the said act shall not affect a grant made by letters patent under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Robert Staunton or William Staunton, of the offices of constableness of Donington Castle, etc. John de Staunton, Thomas de Staunton, and Harold de Staunton, were all living in 1395. Thomas at Castle Donington. John, who was the head of the family, died in 1405; but his son and heir, Robert de Staunton, whose effigy is graven on the brass, must have married Agnes, daughter of Robert de Lathberrie, during his father's lifetime, as he is said on this brass to have died in 1400. It is certain that he went with the Earl of Derby to succour the Duke of Britayne; and that he left a son and heir, John de Staunton, who died in 1422. There is a *hiatus* in this brass as to the date of death of this Robert de Staunton. It is highly probable that he was slain in battle. The granddaughter of this Robert, and daughter and sole heiress of his son, was married in 1423 to Ralph Shirley, Esq., son of Sir Ralph Shirley, Knight, a distinguished commander at the battle of Agincourt; and from this union of the Stauntons and Shirleys have sprung many mighty men of renown, amongst the rest Sir Robert Shirley, Bart.,

' Whose singular praise it is
To have done the best things in the worst times,
And hoped them in the most calamitous.'

The son of this Sir Robert, in reward for the special services rendered to King Charles by his father, was in 1677 created Lord Ferrers, and in 1711 Viscount Tamworth and Earl Ferrers.

"In two of the north windows the arms of the Shirleys and Hesilriges were formerly emblazoned, and at the east end of the north aisle is an altar monument of alabaster, with two figures—a knight in plated armour, with helmet under his head, sword hanging by belt, dagger fastened by a cord, mail shirt, square-toed shoes, and hound at his feet; his lady in folded cap, with lappets, cordon, mantle, kirtle, necklace, and belt, and a little dog on each side of her. I have not been able to make out the inscription, as it is difficult to get at and broken in several places; but it is said to be the tomb of Sir Robert Hesilrige

and Elenora his wife, who was a daughter of John Shirley, and it is highly probable that Thomas Hesilrige, who founded the chantry and grammar school in 1509, conjointly with Harold Staunton, was this Sir Robert Hesilrige's son, as it is said that after bequeath of his soul to Almighty God, he directed that his body should be buried in the Chapel of our Lady St. Mari, at Castle Dunnitone, and masses be therein sung for the repose of his soul for ever. Elenora, mother of Thomas Hesilrige, died in 1529, and the chantry had been then licensed for upwards of twenty years, "for one priest to sing divine service in the Chapel of our Lady there, to pray for the founder's soul, and also to teach a Grammar School there for the erudition of poor scholars, within a school-house founded by him within the town of Donington.' Three hundred years have elapsed since the hand of affection raised this altar-tomb, and made a suitable provision for the daily service of praise and prayer within its hallowed precincts, as well as for the education of the worshippers. The remembrance of the pious act still lives, although both chantry and grammar school are amongst the things that have been, but are not; and we are not saying too much when we aver that Thomas Hesilrige and Harold Staunton stand forth in the history of the town as 'exemplars' for all generations—strong in faith, rich in hope, and eminent in charity, and intending through all time to benefit their fellow-creatures. The chantry-house, where the priest resided who chanted masses daily, is supposed to be still in existence, although the changing hand of Time and alteration has despoiled it of its primitive simplicity. The old building, judging from the quaint-looking gable which projects into the church-yard, was nothing more than the 'frame and pane' domestic architecture common in the middle-class houses of that period. An *Itinerary*, written in 1593, describes it as a 'goodly dwelling, surrounded by an apiary, in the occupation of John Pym,' and likewise speaks of an hostelry hard by, called the 'Old Church Bell,' 'and that the street adjoining was called the Apes-gate, because of the priest's bees that went that way.' The building is only deserving of notice from the associations connected with it; and if the dirty-looking brickwork was removed, its ancient and quaint-looking gable covered with ivy would certainly look more picturesque, and very much relieve the monotony of a shamefully and indecently and disgracefully crowded grave-yard.

"Before leaving the church, I would desire to direct your attention to its present disfigured, debased, and mutilated condition, both internally and externally. Built when architecture was at the zenith of its glory, we can form but a sorry estimate of its pristine grandeur and beauty. Its graceful and symmetrical tower is still an object of admiration to all beholders; but the living splendour and devotional brightness of its hallowed fane have been dimmed, if not altogether

obliterated. Who can look upon high-backed pews, unsightly galleries, mutilated columns, whitewashed walls, blocked-up arches, and debased windows, without deploring the gross ignorance, the stolid dulness, and the puritanical prejudices that have existed, and still exist, in the world, and without sighing over that iconoclastic spirit of pride, which is impatient of control, has no reverence for holy places, and with an assumption of piety, can only bear to bow down to the idol with the golden tooth. Happily for this country, a spirit of revival and restoration has set in, and it has reached our very boundaries, for both Kegworth and Melbourne have already, in the spirit of the times, restored their magnificent parish churches, which may now be proudly ranked amongst the monuments of this great nation. It is to be devoutly hoped that the visit of the British Archæological Association may stimulate our nobility, clergy, and freeholders into doing likewise at Castle Donington.

"A hospital was founded here, by John de Laci, who died in the Holy Land, 1179. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. A few vestiges of it remain, incorporated with ancient looking cottages, but a considerable ruin of it existed in the time of the Parliamentary Civil Wars; and the street adjoining is called 'The Spittle' to this day. During the civil war it was the arena of more than one bloody fray between cavalier and roundhead, and on the land contiguous bar-shot, cannon balls, and other agents of destruction have been found. In the *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, who was appointed governor of Nottingham Castle by order of the Parliament in 1643, mention is made of this place. It is narrated that the colonel, hearing that Prince Rupert was marching *viâ* Ashby to relieve the siege of Newark, and fearing an attack on the Nottingham garrison, sent two men to Sir John Meldum, who '*had drawn all his ordnance into a ruined house called The Spittle,*' and an engagement appears to have taken place between the king's troops and Colonel Thornhagh, who, not being properly supported, was compelled to retreat with Sir John '*into The Spittle with his foot.*' Prince Rupert then sent cavalry to cut off their communication with the Parliamentary garrison at Muscam Bridge, and the horse left in the Spittle having run away, the foot were without means of conveyance for provisions. Seeing the king's troops endeavouring to pass the river and encompass them, they determined to retreat, and to do it so as to deceive the enemy. 'So they lighted squibs and matches, and laid them at certain distances and then retired. Less than half-an-hour afterwards the enemy crossed the river, but did not miss them till morning, by reason of the squibs. Had they staid," says the writer of this episode, "the choicest armes in the Nottingham garrison had been lost, as Sir John Meldum had agreed upon articles to deliver up the Spittle wherein they lay, with all its muskets, ordnance and ammunition.'

"Of the Castle, which gives the distinguishing name to the town, only a small ruin remains. In the heyday of its power it must have been a very stronghold, as it was situated on one of the most commanding eminences in Leicestershire, rising abruptly from the valley of the Trent, which it proudly overlooked and threatened. The character of this fortress was unquestionably that of the castellar edifices of the eleventh century, and the *Ballium* is still distinctly defined. The first castle, built by Eustace, Baron of Haulton and Constable of Chester, was demolished by order of the king about the year 1216, its owner, John de Laci, having taken too prominent a part with the rebel barons. But the castle was evidently rebuilt by his grandson, Henry Laci, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1360. The great-grandfather of this Henry Laci was Eustace or Roger de Laci. He was a man of war from his youth up; went to the siege of Acre (about 1192); was there surnamed Helle, on account of his fierce spirit, and it is recorded of him that

‘Forti Sampsoni similis fuit, atque leoni,
Nullus Trojanus par sibi fuit in probitate.’

"Henry de Laci died without issue, and the castle then came into the possession of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who married Alice, his daughter. This prince was cousin to King Edward II, and he joined a confederacy of barons, who took up arms against the king because of the profligacy of his favourites. After the battle of Boroughbridge, being taken prisoner, he was beheaded in the year 1322, and immediately afterwards the castle was given to the favourite Despencer. Speed thus alludes to this transaction: 'Nevertheless, he had not long before created the elder Spenser Earl of Winchester and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a toppe-feather taken out of the said late Earl of Lancaster's estate, that is to say, with the castle and honour of Donington parcell of the earldome of Lincoln.' However, the Despenchers did not wear this 'toppe-feather' long, for in 1325 they were both executed by the capricious Edward's command. In 1327, Edmund, Earl of Kent, Edward the Third's uncle, was owner of the castle; but in 1330, through the base machinations of Mortimer and the infamous Queen Isabella, this good earl was put to death. An old historian, in speaking of this event, says, 'That from noone till five at night hee stood at the place of death, without the castle gates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of a Marshal-sea was sent, and did it, so little conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent adversaries make of shedding the royal blood, which by God's juster judgment was not long unavenged.' In 1352 the castle belonged to John Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, and Joan, his sister, was his heir. This Joan was the daughter of Earl Edmund, who was brother by the father's side to Edward II. She is reputed to have been the most beautiful woman

of the age, and the troubadours and minstrels of the time made her the subject of their songs. She married three times: first, the valiant Earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced (this first marriage being nothing more than a contract of betrothal); second, Lord Thomas Holland, who, in 1352, in right of his wife, was created Earl of Kent; third, after his death, the Prince of Wales, her cousin. 'Edward the Black Prince,' says Speed, 'passionately loving her did marry her, and by her had issue two sons,' one of whom, Richard, afterwards became King of England. In 1385, Joan, Richard the Second's mother, held the town and castle of Donington, with the *et cætera* of the king as of the honour of Chester.

"Towards the latter part of the reign of Richard II, and about 1396, according to some historians, Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, the prince of English poetry, resided at Castle Donington. This statement is, however, open to discussion and ventilation, as there is another Castle Donington which I am told claims the like distinction.¹ John of Gaunt, the powerful Duke of Lancaster, married for his third wife Lady Catherine Swinford. This took place in 1396, and her sister Philippa had been previously married to the poet in 1369. 'Shortly after this marriage,' says Clarke, in his *Riches of Chaucer*, 'we find Sir Geoffrey in possession of the Castle Donington Park and Castle, the noble presentation for life of his princely brother-in-law.' Ashmole, the antiquary, says of Donington Castle, that it was built by a general of King Stephen's, and in course of time became the residence of Sir Geoffrey Chaucer. It is quite probable that if Chaucer did not reside here during much of the last four years of his valuable life, namely, from 1396 to 1400, that he repeatedly visited the place. Evelyn says, in his *Sylva*, that at Castle Donington is a famous oak, called Chancer's Oak, under which he wrote several poems; and, moreover, that Chaucer planted three oaks, the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chancer's. I am not aware whether there is any record now preserved of these trees. Osterzee says that Chaucer and Wickliff frequently met, and that the abbot and monks of Leicester dreaded Chaucer's poetry more than Wickliff's preaching. That a famous hunter was abbot in those days at Leicester, Sir William de Clowne by name, and that his skill as a hare hunter was so great that the king and his nobles paid him an annual pension that they might hunt with him, and that he is one of the characters intended in *The Monk and Friar*. The subject is surrounded with obscurity. We find him in 1359 at Woodstock, at that time a royal residence, and the birthplace of the Black Prince. He was banished there because of his Lollard tendencies, and in that pleasant retreat he wrote the *Romaunt of the Rose*, containing bitter in-

¹ On this subject, and refutation of the Berkshire claims, see *Journal*, vol. xvi, 1860, p. 233.

vectives against priestcraft. There he resided upwards of thirty years, and during the time must have had frequent opportunities of coming in contact with the Princess Joan. Both her sons by Thomas Holland were then residing at Castle Donington, where she herself no doubt would occasionally resort after the death of the Black Prince, in 1376, as she is described by an old chronicler as being a most affectionate mother, and 'passionately fond of her first-born sons.' What so likely as that she should invite Chancer to Castle Donington, and thereby facilitate his intercourse with Wickliff, whose convert she was, and who at that time preached all over the county. Wickliff died in 1384, the Princess Joan in 1385, and the poet Chaucer in 1400; and after a lapse of nearly five hundred years, the recollection of these three personages, who occupy such distinguished and prominent places in the page of history, as the greatest reformer, the greatest beauty, and the greatest poet of that age, imparts an interest to the spot they may have all inhabited or visited together. Soon after Sir Geoffrey Chancer's death, Sir Hugh Shirley was appointed governor of the castle, and it was incorporated with the duchy of Lancaster. During the wretched civil wars of the roses the castle and town were true to the red rose, and the Lancastrian party held it. Edward IV, being in peaceable possession of the throne, granted the stewardship, in 1461, of the castle and manor to Sir William Hastings for distinguished services. This Sir W. Hastings was chamberlain to Edward IV, and Camden speaks of him—'Nunc illustris Hastingorum familia, qui Huntingdoniæ sunt comites, hoc titulo de Hasting lætatur. Edwardus enim IV hunc, cum quibusdam, ut vocant, regalitalibus, Gulielmo Hastingo cubiculario suo contulit: qui a Cominæo laudatur, quod cum à Lodovico XI, Gallorum rege annuam pensionem acceperit, induci non poterat, ut Gallo apocham, sive chirographum traderet. 'Ut meum' inquit 'chirographum inter rationes quæstorum ærarii Gallici conspiciatur, minime committam.' Verum hic in regum amicitiam se totum immergendo prorsus Seipsum demersit. Dum enim in privato consilio liberius cum tyranno Richardo Tertio loqueretur, inopinato abreptus et indictâ causâ actutum capite Truncatus.'

"After passing through various hands, a descendant of this Sir William Hastings (George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon) purchased in 1595, from Robert Earl of Essex and others, the castle and park of Donington, with all the herbage, pannage, and agistments thereof. The castle 'he quite ruined,' but built a 'fair house' in the park. Many martial trophies have been found at different times amongst the ruins, such as chain-armour, daggers, a battle-axe, cannon-balls, etc.

"In *Domesday Book* it is written that, at Dunitone, 'tempore Regis Edwardi,' there was a 'molinum de 10 solidis et 8 denariis'; i.e., a mill of 10*s.* 8*d.* value; and also 'silva 12 quarentenarum longitudinis et 8

latitudinis'; i.e., a wood twelve furlongs long and eight broad. No doubt the present park and King's Mills are a portion of the property thus named in the Conqueror's survey. Many of the early Saxon writers refer to immense forests of oak trees which covered this part of Britain, and there are individual trees standing in Donington park which must have formed part of these forests. One which goes by the name of 'Daniel Lambert' is fifteen yards in circumference fifteen feet above its base. This giant of the forest has, no doubt, flourished in vigour and beauty for a thousand years.

'The 'Home' itself is deserving of a most elaborate notice; but as my paper has already exceeded the limits allowed, I must briefly dismiss it by directing the attention of the society to the magnificent emblazoning of the family arms; to the portraits of Edward IV; George, Duke of Clarence, his brother; and 'Ricardus frater invictissimi Edwardi IV.' There are likewise mediæval portraits of Cardinal Pole; of Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick; of Marie de Bourgogne (1476); of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII; as well as likenesses of Jane Shore, Sir Edward Hastings (1573), and other distinguished historical personages connected by ties of blood with this noble family. In the library there are some very ancient and costly volumes. Among others are: *Biblia Sacra*, 1515; *The Byble*, Tyndale's folio, black letter, Lond., 1549; *Froysart's Cronycles*, 1523, etc."

The thanks of the meeting having been voted to the respective authors of these papers, the Association adjourned.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9.

The early part of this day was appropriated to the examination of the churches of Leicester, under the guidance and description of Mr. Edward Roberts; and they were taken in the following order,—St. Margaret's, All Saints', St. Nicholas, St. Mary le Castro, St. Martin's. The party was received most kindly by the several incumbents, and every facility afforded for the most minute inspection.

ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, LEICESTER.—This, Mr. Roberts stated, was once the cathedral church; and its size as such (ninety-six feet by seventy feet internally, exclusive of the chancel) is not very great; but as a parish church it presents a fine building. It has been said that it is of Norman foundation;¹ but I can find no work of that period. Perhaps the earliest is the beautiful scroll ironwork to the north doors, and called "Norman" by Messrs. Brandon,² though it appears to me to

¹ See vol. iii, p. 9, of the *Reports of the Leicestershire Architectural Society*, where it is assigned to the date of 1200. The date is probably right, but the inference is incorrect.

² Analysis, i, 101.

be very late transition or Early English, and is attached to, and made for, Pointed doors. There are many portions of Early English work of different dates. The nave shews some of early and some late work. It has three different characters: the early part at the west end; the middle of the thirteenth century at the east end; and Perpendicular in the clerestory,—this is of the middle of the fifteenth century, and coincides with the tower. The whole of these, however, have been from time to time renovated, and consequently altered, and it is difficult to determine on the dates with accuracy.

“The church, I should think, was originally a nave and transepts; and if the church were of Norman planning, that most likely was the then arrangement. The aisles are now of Early English construction, corresponding with the west end of the nave. There is an aumbry in the south aisle, with the place for a shelf, and part of the ironwork remaining. This is in altogether a different state of preservation. It was probably a chantry.

“The chancel arch ends the Early English work eastward, for the chancel is of very late Perpendicular work. The former chancel had probably a less roof; for the two trefoils over the chancel arch, of the same date, have had glass in them, which would not be the case if they opened into a roof. In the chancel is a lychnoscope from the vestry. On the north side is a credence-table, and sedilia and piscina on the south. Only one tomb of importance embellishes the church; that one is on the north side of the chancel, and is of John Penny, one of the latest abbots of St. Mary de Pratis. The effigy was discovered not many years since, and is now on a new base.

“Nichols¹ describes a niche on each side of the high altar with statuary. He also quotes some verses which were on the timbers of the nave-roof. These have disappeared. Recently some of the plastering has been removed from the flat ceiling, but the roof has been found to be quite modern. In other respects it seems considerably altered since Nichols wrote.

“The exterior shews no masonry of great antiquity: much is modern. The tower appears the least tampered with. The north aisle and east end have been restored, as well as nearly all the windows in the chancel. Some original masonry remains in the chancel. The south aisle has all new facing. The south porch is debased Perpendicular, but has part of the old fan-tracery inside; and the south doors are of the fifteenth century, and good in themselves. The jambs of the windows between the porch and the west end are original Early English, though of different dates, and they are very good specimens. There was a buttress here before the restorations. The angle buttress is Decorated in date. The strings are original.

¹ Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. i, p. 558.

"During the recent repairs some carvings were found. One piece of wood-carving was shewn to me, which gives proof of much splendour and elaborate construction. It appeared to be part of a roof-corbel, and consisted of part of an angel (the shoulders and wings only), with colour and gilding. In the nave is an iron-bound chest, of perhaps the sixteenth century. It is thirty-four inches long, twenty-two and a half deep, and twenty-one high, and cut out of a solid block.

"ALL SAINTS', LEICESTER.—There is very little here to interest the antiquary. The Norman doorway at the west end is good of its kind. There are also some 'Decorated' buttresses to the north aisle. They are semicircular on plan, and of excellent appearance. The church consists of a nave with aisles, with much of the original masonry, and a chancel. Nichols¹ mentions an incomprehensible inscription on a window in the north aisle, which I am sorry to find has been taken away. I imagine that some of the glass had been reversed, and that what appeared nonsense would read well if looked at on both sides.

"ST. NICHOLAS.—This church formerly consisted of a nave with aisles and a chancel. It is now only a nave and chancel; the north aisle having been taken down since the end of the seventeenth century, and the nave arches filled in. There is much to interest us in this church, though the examination can be quickly made. The round-headed and small openings in the exterior, arched as they are with Roman bricks, recall Brixworth Church and the Jewry wall, and other similar structures where tiles are irregularly laid. It is, however, certain that the old materials only were used; and probably these windows and the walls are not earlier than the time of Henry II, and perhaps towards the end of his reign. Internally, some of the arches have been thrown together in modern times. There are remaining specimens of almost all the periods of Gothic architecture, and some singular attached as well as detached shafts at the east end, which overhang considerably. The nave arcade is very massive and imposing with its circular arches and heavy piers.

"ST. MARY LE CASTRO.—I think, from a careful study of this church, I must differ from those who have previously written about it, in regard to the original arrangement. I think that it originally was a nave and chancel without aisles, and that the chancel had an apse. The chancel was originally longer, as appears by an examination of the north-east angle. Nichols² says it was six yards longer. He also says it was a Saxon collegiate church, but damaged at the conquest. The damage would appear to have been so great that when it was 'repaired' by Robert de Bellomont, in 1107, none of the Saxon walls were allowed to remain. Whether Robert added the aisles or not, it is not possible

¹ Nichols, *Hist. Leicester*, vol. i, p. 549.

² *Ib.*, i, 303 *et seq.*

to determine. I consider them to have been added; and I point to the straight joint between the north aisle and the nave as some evidence, as well as to the return arcadings inside, and the inserted arcadings, which, although not coeval with the aisles, probably replaced some previously smaller openings. That they were smaller, if in existence at all, is quite clear from the upper series of openings being invaded by the lower arches.¹

"The nave has at the west end, and returning on the south side, a Norman mural arcading. These had been made good over a former west door. They are surmounted by a six-light window of about the date 1400. On the north side of the nave are groups of Early English clustered piers, all new, and copied from those preceding them. The arches are new in all respects: they were plain chamfered. The north wall has been entirely rebuilt; but the Norman remains have been inserted *in situ*. This, without exception, has also been done throughout the church, where restorations have been made under the care of Mr. Nevinson. On the south side there are, firstly, two Early English flattish and dwarf arches, also cutting up into the clerestory. These piers are not opposite those on the north side, nor so lofty. The sculptured terminal between the hood-mould appears to have been intended for a shaft. Then follow three nearly equilateral arches, no pier being opposite those on the north. The clerestory is Early English, and of about the same date as the two dwarf arches. The west end of this side is intact; and here we see how the Norman work has Early English construction both below and above it. On the outside of this wall the Norman mural arcading, with an occasional bay applied to use as a window, is remaining almost as perfect as when first erected.

"The chancel arch is a plaster imitation; but beneath it are many portions of Norman work, with several arches and arrangements for giving access to the rood-loft. The chancel walls incline outwards, leading one to conclude that it was vaulted. In my own mind I am satisfied that both nave and chancel were vaulted; but the only evidence is the pressure that has been exercised upon these walls. The east end is new, and the side-walls have been renewed, and the greater part restored.

"The south aisle was originally a narrow one of twelve feet six inches wide, some foundations having been discovered at that distance, and jambs and bases corresponding with the nave arcading. The tower, which is now within the aisle, and is earlier, would thus have been outside the church. This tower has now the appearance of having been dropped down accidentally into the church, and missed its proper place. It is inconveniently in the way; and the placing of the south door

¹ A very excellent account, in 1854, is given in the *Journal* of the Leicester Archit. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 4-9.

where it is, the access interfered with by the tower on entering, shews singular want of skill.

"The south aisle, or parish church, or Church of the Trinity Guild, (for it is all of them by turns) is an addition of the twelfth century,—erroneously attributed to John of Gaunt,—and is larger and loftier than the church itself. There are sedilia and piscina and a Perpendicular clerestory.

"Mr. Freeman,¹ speaking of the 'restorations' of 1845, says: 'The removal of the altar from the end of the wide south aisle, where it at present stands, to the original chancel, will leave a space originally occupied by a chantry altar.' And he refers to a sepulchral recess recently blocked up. This has since been replaced.

"There are evidences of a rood-screen with an altar on each side; and there is a piscina behind the modern pewing. The font is Early English, and is now placed under the tower. All the mediæval encaustic tiles which have been found, have been laid around the font. Many of them have arms, shields, letters, and devices. Some have a monkey turning a summersault; others a monkey draining a goblet. Externally, at the west end, is a genuine Norman doorway, but placed higher than formerly. The aisle did not reach to the extreme length of the nave, as is clear from the return of the stringcourse on the south side. On the north side of the chancel there appears to have been either a vestry or a chapel: the position of the string and the existence of an aumbry denote it.

"Too much praise cannot be given to those who have carried out the recent restorations. If such loving and gentle care were bestowed in all cases, it would be a cause of much rejoicing to those who, like myself, fear the time when all means of studying mediæval works in their integrity will cease."

ST. MARTIN'S.—Mr. Roberts pointed out the parts of the edifice referred to in his paper read on Wednesday evening. (See pp. 113-117 *ante*.) He particularly drew attention to a singular optical illusion in the tower arch. The incidence of the arch against the upright lines of the piers, give a notion that the piers were very much thrown out of the perpendicular. The ancient corbels and misereres were examined.

The Association now gathered together to proceed on their visit to Sir Henry Halford, Bart., at Wistow Hall; and upon their arrival were met and cordially welcomed by the worthy baronet and his family. An elegant collation had been prepared for the guests, after partaking of which various objects of much interest in the house were examined; among which were several autograph letters of Charles I, throwing light upon the storming of Leicester, the battle of Naseby, etc.; which by the kindness of Sir Henry Halford have since been communicated

¹ Journal Inst. Brit. Architects, ii, p. 81.

to the Association, and printed in the *Journal* for March last (pp. 25-29), with illustrative notes by Sir Henry; a saddle which had belonged to Charles; a signet-ring of his queen, Henrietta Maria; and other relics traditionally stated to have been left by the monarch upon quitting Wistow after the battle of Naseby; many interesting portraits of the present royal family, and of the family of Sir Henry Halford; particularly that, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, of the father of the present baronet, the physician to George III, George IV, William IV, and her present Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

Dr. Lee having expressed, on the part of the Association, their thanks for the great courtesy with which they had been received, the party returned to the Guildhall, Leicester, there to hold

THE CONCLUDING MEETING.

The President rose and said:—I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the members of the British Archæological Association have attained all the objects for which they came here; in which they have been essentially assisted by the kindness, the attention, and the hospitality of the town of Leicester, the town of Northampton, and the neighbourhood. We have, therefore, now to congratulate ourselves upon the kind reception we have had, the number of valuable objects we have visited, and generally upon the hospitality and the cordial manner in which we have been received wherever we have been. I trust that in our future proceedings we shall be favoured with the presence of many of our friends in Leicester. They now see what our objects are. They see that we have not come here to contest any of their rights and privileges and immunities; but, on the contrary, to support them in as social and agreeable a manner as we can, and at the same time to impart information to them, and receive information from them. Under these circumstances I may venture to say that we are perfectly satisfied, in every respect, with the reception we have met with; and it is now our duty to return our most cordial thanks to those persons who have assisted us in the objects of our Congress. I will therefore, in the first place, call upon Mr. Thos. Wright (who is one of our best members in the field, archæologically) to come forward and propose the first motion. We have several to offer before we shall be under the necessity of bidding you farewell, and leaving this most interesting and friendly town.

Mr. T. Wright then rose and said:—I have to ask you to give your thanks for the reception which we have received here, to the Mayor of Leicester and to the Corporation. Wherever we go, it is a matter of great importance to obtain favourable reception from the mayor and corporation of the town; and you all of you know and have witnessed what a courteous and what a hearty reception and welcome we

received from the Mayor of Leicester and from the Corporation of Leicester on the day of our arrival. I am quite sure, therefore, that I need say very little to persuade you to join in a unanimous vote of thanks—in a warm vote of thanks—to the Mayor and Corporation of Leicester. In our visit to towns like this, and to all towns (as our President has just stated), we come to do what we can; to give information to the town we visit as to its antiquities and other objects which come within our view; and, at the same time, to learn something from the remains that exist in the locality. I am very glad to be able to say (both from my own observation, and from what I have heard from many friends here) that the Corporation of Leicester are particularly careful of what remains they have of antiquity. I believe, for some years past, they have shewn a laudable desire to preserve their ancient buildings; and nobody could preserve with greater care the records of a town, than are the records which are preserved in Leicester. We have at Leicester an excellent museum with an extraordinarily interesting collection of antiquities of the town and neighbourhood; and a Society which has printed very good, very interesting, and very learned papers, too, on many of those antiquities. Therefore I think we are particularly bound to return our thanks cordially to the Corporation of Leicester which has shewn such interest in the antiquities which we have come to visit. It is here, perhaps, our duty to give any suggestion or any advice we can. Before we leave I will make a suggestion with regard to this town. There is in Leicester one of the most interesting monuments we have in the country of the Roman period, and also one of the most mysterious. I refer to the Jewry Wall. The Jewry Wall has been the subject of many conjectures and much discussion. I believe even at the present time no one has any settled opinion as to the purport of the building. With very little expense, indeed, and with very little inconvenience, much light might be thrown upon the subject, and perhaps clear up the mystery which surrounds it. If some zealous antiquaries (and there are some in this town) would join in making an excavation against the side of the wall,—first sinking down till they get to the foundation, to try what sort of facing it is at the bottom, and carefully excavate along the side of it,—I feel satisfied that such excavation would lead to very important discoveries. I very gladly offer this hint, which I am quite sure will not be neglected. I will therefore say no more, but beg that you will return most heartily your thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Leicester.

Mr. Roberts seconded the resolution, and it was carried with acclamation.

The Mayor of Leicester said:—It has afforded me very considerable pleasure to have met Dr. Lee and his friends, with many who are gone, on their expeditions in the town and county of Leicester. If we, as a

corporation, have done anything to facilitate your object, I am quite sure that every member of the Corporation will feel himself greatly pleased in having been able thus to do. I have not been with you so much as I should have liked to have been ; but when I have been with you very great pleasure has been afforded me, and I may say interest and instruction as well. I am not much acquainted with archæology ; but at the same time I appreciate it. As a town we are, I think, perhaps as careful of relics as most other towns ; and as a corporation I think we are very jealous of whatever belongs to us, and would not allow anybody to infringe upon our rights, much less upon our property. I am very glad to have met you now, at the close of your expedition ; and I hope you have been not only interested, but in some sense benefited ; and I do think that this visit to Leicester will have a good effect on the town at large, and that we shall at some future day reap the results of your visit. I again thank you for the kind vote of thanks you have passed to myself and the Corporation.

Mr. Roberts said :—It is very difficult, Mr. President, time after time, to be proposing votes of thanks to those gentlemen who are so good as to receive us, and at the same time to introduce some change in the mode of doing it ; and to get out of the impression, which is on the minds of most people, that it is simply a matter of form, and that we do not care about those things. If that be the impression now, it is a very mistaken one ; for we really are sincere in proposing our thanks to those who are so good as to receive us at the different places, and to entertain us, and give us means of acquiring that knowledge which we are here to obtain, and which we so earnestly desire. Amongst those who have received us during the course of the week, is my own friend, the Mayor of Northampton, to whom I propose a vote of thanks as well as to the Corporation of Northampton. That town is highly interesting ; and during the few hours we had to spare there, we saw the greater part of the attractions, which will bear being seen again at some future time, and more thoroughly investigated. For the way in which the Mayor himself received us, for his kind personal treatment of us, and for the interest which he took in our visit, he deserves our thanks. For the opportunity which he afforded us of meeting in the Town Hall, and seeing the town antiquities, I move that the thanks of this Association be tendered to the Mayor and Corporation of Northampton.

Mr. Drake seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Leven said :—I shall not say many words upon what I have to propose to you. I am quite sure that you will at once receive with acclamation the name of a gentleman whom I am about to propose to you for your thanks,—which is that of the Rev. Charles C. Coe, President of the Literary and Philosophical Society in Leicester.

The Rev. J. H. Hill seconded the vote of thanks, and it was agreed to.

The Rev. C. C. Coe said :—I assure you that I feel most deeply the very kind way in which Mr. Levien has moved the vote of thanks which you have just heard. On behalf of the Literary and Philosophical Society I thank you most sincerely.

Mr. Naylor proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. North, the Secretary of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, for the attention paid by that gentleman, and the whole of that Society, to the members of the Congress.

Mr. Roberts, in seconding the resolution, remarked that Mr. North had been at more trouble than the Association generally were aware of. He (the speaker) could bear testimony to the extreme care with which Mr. North had done everything to promote their interests, and the extreme interest he had taken in everything that had been done, and the personal trouble and expense he had put himself to in order that they might be accommodated.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. North, in responding, said the resolution which they had been so kind as to carry was quite unexpected. He was sure that any trouble he might have taken, or anything he might have done to assist the Congress, had been productive of great pleasure to him. It had been a source of great regret to him to see that so few members of the Leicestershire Architectural Society had been able to attend the meetings of the Congress ; but that, he was sure, must not be attributed to any want of confidence in the way in which the Congress had been carried out, or in the motives which they had in coming to Leicester, which were to call forth the learning of the neighbourhood (if he might so speak), and to interest all in the antiquities of the county. The fact was, their members were scattered almost all over the county, and they had not many in the town : and this was the principal reason why they had not been more numerous at the meetings of the Congress.

Mr. Previté said he had great pleasure in proposing that the thanks of the Congress be presented to their Local Secretary, Mr. James Thompson. They had had evidence every day of the excellent arrangements he had made for their convenience and comfort in visiting the different places around and about Leicester ; and it was only that morning, upon visiting five different churches in Leicester, that they found every arrangement made for their reception. Not only as their Local Secretary had they to thank him ; but on one occasion he read a paper on the history of the county of Leicester up to the time of the Norman conquest, which was received with interest and great acclamation.

Mr. G. Wright said he had much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. James Thompson said he was very much obliged to them for the kind vote they had just accorded him. He only regretted that they had not had a larger number of townsmen to join their ranks during the week, and of persons from the county also. It was only once, perhaps, in one's lifetime when one had the pleasure of seeing a society so valuable, so learned, and so important, as the British Archæological Association, in Leicester. He did feel some regret at their parting, that they had not had a more numerous and more extensive reception; but he could only say that no effort had been wanting on his part to render the attendance more complete than it had been.

Mr. Jas. Thompson again rose, and said it had devolved upon him to propose that the thanks of the Association should be given to Sir Henry Halford, Bart.; Marcus Huish, Esq.; Mr. Bostock of Breedon; and the other gentlemen who had entertained the Association in its circuit round the county. He was sure this resolution needed no word of commendation on his part, because it commended itself to every member of the Association. They had had that day a proof of the kindness and the hospitality which the county of Leicester could afford when it was awakened to the importance of the occasion. Sir Henry Halford had entertained them in a most elegant, liberal, and hospitable manner; and everybody left the threshold of that worthy baronet with an impression of a most agreeable character. He laid before them his *Penates*,—the very treasures of his household; and he did so with the greatest courtesy, which would not be forgotten by the visitors. He (Mr. Thompson) thought he ought to say a word also about the hospitable reception of Mr. Huish, which had afforded them great pleasure; and about that of Mr. Bostock, whose reception, in its way, although less extensive, was made with a kindness and cordiality of feeling which commended itself to them as much as a more extensive and greater preparation. He therefore asked them to give a vote of thanks to the parties he had named for the kindness and hospitality that had been shewn to the members of the Congress on their visits.

The resolution was carried with applause.

Mr. North said he had been requested to propose (and he did so with very great pleasure) that the thanks of the Congress be given to the authors of the various papers that had been read during the meetings of the Congress in Leicester. The papers had been of a varied character, and he was sure had given them all very great interest.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. William Kelly, and agreed to.

Mr. G. Wright moved that the thanks of the Congress be presented to the clergy who had so kindly opened their churches to them, and afforded them assistance in their week's pursuit. Those gentlemen had not only opened their churches, but their hearts also. Although he was not able to go with the Congress that morning, being engaged in

other duties connected with the office he held, he had heard that the way in which they were met at the churches examined under the guidance of his friend Mr. Roberts, was all that could be desired. He need only allude to the way in which, at Northampton, their friend, the Rev. Mr. Watkins, opened his house, and the stores of his knowledge in that wonderful church he shewed them. They were deeply indebted to the clergy of the county; for to them, who had the care and custody of so large a share of the archives connected with the history of the county, they were often obliged to appeal for assistance in carrying out the purposes of archæology, in allowing them to look over their registers and examine their documents.

Mr. Baskcomb seconded the resolution, and it was agreed to.

The Rev. R. Burnaby responded on behalf of the clergy, remarking that he was extremely sorry that no gentleman was present whose church they had visited. His church was a modern church, and there was nothing to be seen in that; but the more ancient churches in Leicester certainly deserved their observation and care. He returned thanks, in the name of the clergy, for the high compliment that had been paid them.

The Mayor then rose and said:—Mr. President, a duty devolves upon me, and I discharge it with a great deal of pleasure, though with a great deal of diffidence. I am exceedingly glad, sir, to find a gentleman of your high talents and learning at the head of these establishments. It is a very great honour to you, sir, and it does very great credit to the Association with which you are connected, and over which you now preside, that a gentleman like you should have been elected; not only a gentleman of extensive learning, but a gentleman who, I am quite sure, must commend himself to the good feelings and wishes of every person who comes within his circle. There is so much kindly feeling about you, sir; so much urbanity of manners, with such good taste (which you have exhibited throughout the whole of your proceedings), that I am quite sure there is none but must feel greatly indebted to you; and every kindly feeling must be expressed by all who come near you. I shall not attempt to say more on this occasion, than to move a most hearty vote of thanks to you, Sir, and to the members of the British Archæological Association, for your presence and kindness in Leicester during the week, which I do most heartily.

The Rev. R. Burnaby seconded the resolution, and read the following resolution, which had been agreed to by the Leicestershire Archæological Society:

“To the President and the members of the British Archæological Association now assembled in Congress in Leicester.—Gentlemen, as the representative of the members of the Committee of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, it is my privilege to be

requested on this, the last day of the assembly of your Congress in this borough, to convey to you their sincere wish for the success of your labours in the prosecution of your researches in the many and varied branches of the science of archæology, and to assure you of the great satisfaction your presence in this county has given them, and of the interest they have felt in your proceedings. The Committee, whilst fully recognizing the great impetus given to all local historical inquiry and antiquarian research by such visits as the present, of your learned body, to this town, trust that you do not leave it without adding to your store of information, nor without feeling a new interest in the many historical associations with which the town and county of Leicester abound."

The resolution proposed by the Mayor was carried with acclamation.

The President, on rising, was received with prolonged applause. He said: "Ladies, and gentlemen of the British Archæological Association, in the first place I may say that you will cordially agree with me in returning thanks to the President and members of the Leicestershire Archæological Association, who have authorized the Rev. Mr. Burnaby to present this address to us. I beg that he will convey to them our gratitude for this mark of approbation conferred upon us. I only hope that I have done my duty to the Association, who have confided their trust to me on this occasion. I hope I have also done something, as far as in my power, to afford information and gratification to the town of Leicester. It now becomes my duty to say two very painful words,—farewell!—adieu!"

The Congress then terminated; and it was announced that the meeting in 1863 would be to inquire into the history and antiquities of the West Riding of Yorkshire, assembling at Leeds, under the presidency of R. Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P. (since created Lord Houghton). On this occasion Ripon Cathedral, Fountains Abbey, Kirkstall Abbey, Harewood Castle, Pontefract Castle, Wakefield Wayside Chapel, Aldborough and Boroughbridge (the Isurium of the Romans), Ilkley (the Olicana of the Romans), Adel Church, and many other places of great interest, will be examined and discoursed upon. The Minster at York and the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society at York will also be inspected.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

CONGRESS OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE WEST RIDING OF YORK.—The associates are hereby apprized that the meeting will commence on the 12th October, 1863, at Leeds, and be continued until the 19th inst., at York, where it will terminate. It is held under the highest patronage in the county, and will be presided over by Lord Houghton, whose connexion with the Society from its establishment in 1843 should be considered a claim upon the attendance of the members. The business will commence at the Town Hall, Leeds, where the President, associates, and visitors will be received by the Mayor and Corporation of Leeds at 3 P.M. precisely, and the President will deliver his Introductory Address. *Tables d'hôte* have been arranged at the Queen's Hotel, in the neighbourhood of the hall and committee rooms at the Philosophical and Literary Society, whose officers and council have formed themselves into a Local Committee, to carry out arrangements, and generously placed at the disposal of the Association their excellent apartments, for the service of the members at the Congress. In the evening papers will be read and discussed, and among those already prepared may be mentioned,—Mr. Thomas Wright "On the Early History of Leeds," and "On the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Jewellery and other antiquities by the late Lord Londesborough at Seamer Lime Quarry, near Scarborough;" Mr. Planché "On the Badges of the House of York;" Mr. C. E. Davis "On Ripon Cathedral, the crypt commonly called St. Wilfred's Needle," etc.; Mr. Gordon Hills "On Fountains Abbey;" Mr. Edw. Roberts "On Kirkstall Abbey," and "On Adel Church;" the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne "On the Honor and Castle of Pontefract;" Mr. F. R. Wilson "On Wakefield Wayside Chapel;" Mr. E. Levien "On Unpublished MSS. relating to Meaux Abbey;" Mr. George Wentworth "On Ancient Houses in Wakefield, on Aldborough, and other places to be visited;" Mr. H. Syer Cuming "On the Weapons of the Ancient Tribes of Yorkshire;" Mr. O'Callaghan "On the Discovery of an Ancient Boat or Canoe at Giggleswick, near Settle," and "On Historical Autographs;" Mr. Baigent "On Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York A.D. 1266-79,

and his brother, Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester A.D. 1268-1302 ;" Mr. John Jones "On Harewood Castle ;" Mr. Clarence Hopper "On a Petition to Oliver Cromwell from the Town of Leeds in 1656 ;" Mr. Leyland "On the Roman Roads intersecting the Parish of Halifax ;" the Rev. Scott F. Surtees "On the Locality of Hengist's Last Battle, and his Burial Place ;" Mr. Lawson "On Isurium ;" Mr. Shaw "On Mason's Marks ;" Mr. Lukis "On Cromlechs," etc.

The excursions will commence on Tuesday, the 13th : first to Adel, to view the church, under the guidance of Mr. Roberts ; thence to Farnley Hall, to view Mr. Fawkes's collection of pictures ; to Ilkley, the Olicana of the Romans, where also are to be seen in the churchyard some Runic crosses ; thence to Harewood Castle, under the guidance of Mr. John Jones, the historian of the castle. On Wednesday, the 14th, the excursion will be to Ripon, to view the cathedral, the crypt, St. Wilfrid's Needle, etc., under the guidance of Mr. C. E. Davis and the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral. If time permits, some antiquities in the town and its immediate neighbourhood will be visited, and the Association then proceed to Fountains Abbey, to which, by the liberality of Earl de Grey and Ripon, every facility will be given for its examination, under the guidance of Mr. Gordon Hills. On Thursday, the 15th, an excursion will be made to the town of Wakefield, the ancient houses of which will be inspected, the records kept at the Town Hall, and other muniments inspected, and the original Halifax gibbet axe shown. Mr. Wilson will demonstrate the Wayside Chapel on the bridge. A visit will then be paid to Pontefract, over which the President will conduct the Association, and the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne make introductory observations to his paper "On the Honor and Castle of Pontefract." The church and other places will also be visited. On Friday, the 16th, the Association will proceed to Boroughbridge, and have the honour of waiting on Mr. Lawson, the Lord of the Manor, and, by whose kindness, his most valuable museum will be inspected. The rich antiquities of this place (the Isurium of the Romans) will be described by Mr. Lawson, and will fully occupy the attention of the Association. On Saturday, the 17th, Kirkstall Abbey will be viewed, by the permission of the Earl of Cardigan and Mr. Beecroft, M.P., and the whole exhibited under the guidance of Mr. E. Roberts ; thence the party will proceed to Bradford, to view the church, Town Hall, inspect its muniments, etc., and pay a visit to Mr. Hailstone's collection of antiquities at Horton Hall ; after which they will proceed to Halifax, and be received at the Town Hall by the Mayor, John Crossley, Esq., inspect the old and new churches, under the guidance of Mr. Leyland and Mr. Crossland, returning to Leeds in the evening to wind-up the general business of the Congress, prior to their departure on Monday, the 19th, to York, where, under the conduct

of the officers and council of the Philosophical Society of Yorkshire, and with the assistance of a programme (to be drawn up by the Rev. John Kenrick, M.A.), the several antiquities in York will be pointed out, and arrangements made for visiting (under the sanction of the Hon. and Rev. the Dean of York and other cathedral authorities) the Minster, its crypt, library, etc. The whole will conclude by viewing the unrivalled collection of Roman antiquities found in Yorkshire, of which the Rev. J. Kenrick, Curator and V. P. of the Society, will render an account.

The week will thus be seen to promise an extraordinary amount of objects of archæological research, and of the greatest interest. The council rely upon the attendance of the members as extensively as possible, to acknowledge the great kindness and attention with which the announcement of the presence of the Association in the West Riding has been met. So numerous, indeed, have been the offers of kindly reception, that it is much to be regretted the Congress is necessarily confined within so short a limit.

COLLECTANEA ARCHÆOLOGICA.—Since the publication of our last Journal, the Association has been enabled to put forth the first part of the second volume of these important archæological papers recently laid before the Society. They consist of an account of the "Tumulus of Maes-Howe in the Orkneys," by Mr. Pettigrew, drawn up from the researches of Mr. J. Farrer, M.P., whose kindness in the loan of the coloured plate of the Great Chamber demands our thanks. Mr. Pettigrew has also arranged a "Comparative Statement of the Translations of the Inscriptions in the Tumulus, by the Rev. the Principal Barclay of the University of Glasgow and Professors Stephens, Munch, and Rafn (of Copenhagen). These inscriptions are in Scandinavian, not Anglo-Saxon, runes, and are rendered in two plates. Mr. George Vere Irving has contributed a valuable summary of all the known "Ancient Camps, Earthworks, and Fortifications in Devonshire," with references to the authorities, and a brief notice of their character. Mr. Planché, *Rouge Croix*, has a valuable paper "On the Genealogy and Armorial Ensigns of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Leicester;" Mr. E. Levison an interesting paper "On the Life and Times of Letitia Countess of Leicester," derived principally from hitherto unpublished papers in the British Museum. Mr. Thomas Wright has furnished a communication "On an Early MS. in the Muniment Room in the Guildhall, Leicester," a paper of considerable value in a philological as well as historical point of view. These three papers were read in brief at the late Congress at Leicester. Not less curious is "An Inventory of the Furniture, etc., of a Tavern at Stratford-on-Avon, taken in the time of Shakespeare." The arrangement of the rooms and their peculiar fur-

niture will be found to correspond with the description of taverns in the time of our great bard, and it is sufficient to say that it has been edited by Mr. J. O. Halliwell to give it a peculiar interest, and to establish its reputation for accuracy. The remaining papers consist of an elaborate account of "Netley Abbey, with a particular detail of recent extensive excavations and discoveries," by the Rev. Edw. Kell. This paper is illustrated by four plates, comprising a general plan, with measurements of the entire abbey, various architectural ornaments, encaustic tiles, etc. Much light is thrown on the history of the abbey, and the names of several priors, hitherto not given, are furnished by the able author, who has spared no pains in rendering his paper a complete dissertation on the subject; and the First Part of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne's "Itinerary of Edward I," of inestimable value to all writers on history of the reign of this monarch. Mr. Hartshorne has given authorities for the king's daily appearance, drawn chiefly from the MS. records. In the previous part of the *Collectanea* Mr. Hartshorne has given a complete "Itinerary of Edward II." The council embrace this opportunity of congratulating the members of the Association upon the appearance of this work, and rejoice at the untiring zeal and energy of the Association evinced in its steady publication.

CAERLEON MUSEUM.—Antiquaries have to acknowledge the valuable services of Mr. J E. Lee, the honorary secretary of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, not only in the collection and arrangement of the various antiquities discovered in that interesting locality, deposited in the Caerleon Museum, but also in the publication of an illustrated catalogue of its contents under the appropriate title of *Isca Silurum*. The illustrations are exceedingly numerous, and fill no less than fifty-two plates imperial 8vo. all having the benefit of authority, being executed by the pencil of the author, whose attention to the British Archaeological Association on occasion of their visit during the Congress held at Chepstow in 1854 will be well remembered by the members present on that occasion. Few places have been so fortunate as to obtain means for the erection of an appropriate building for the reception of the antiquities discovered at various times in the locality, some notice of which will be found in our Journal, vol. x, pp. 205, 306. To the enumeration of the contents of the museum, accompanied by brief and valuable descriptions of the specific articles, are added the communications of Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., whose devotion to the antiquities of his neighbourhood is well known, and the erudite researches of our esteemed associate, Mr. Thomas Wright, the former being an account of the excavations undertaken at Caerwent, reprinted from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi, and the latter on the early history of Caerleon, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iii. These

are, indeed, essential to the complete comprehension of the antiquities discovered, and will serve for useful reference in regard to other places. The Catalogue is arranged under the heads of Roman Period (stone materials), including sepulchral stones, coffins, sculptures, etc.; (earthen materials) pottery, lamps, pavements, glass, enamels; (vegetable materials) jet and coal; (animal materials) ivory carvings and objects in bone; and (metallic materials) objects in bronze, silver, lead, consisting of fibulæ, chains, armillæ, bells, shears, pliers, styli, keys, spoons, and rings. A few objects in iron, and a large collection of coins, arranged by the Rev. C. W. King, are of much interest. The inscriptions on the Roman sepulchral stones are highly important. There are also some Celtic remains, fragments of early Welsh crosses, and various mediæval antiquities. It would be vain to specify particular articles where all are of value, and we, therefore, simply confine ourselves to a recommendation to our members to avail themselves of the work, which has been published at the small price of fifteen shillings, chiefly to be attributed to the aid of Mr. Lee's generous labours in the artistic department.

MARKS AND MONOGRAMS ON POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, with short Historical Notices of each Manufactory, and an Introductory Essay on the *Vasa Fictilia* of England. London, 8vo, 1863.—Such is the title of a useful work just put forth by Mr. W. Chaffers, F.S.A. The author's first essay in this department of antiquities appeared in the early volumes of our Journal, and his several papers have undergone a revision. The book is essential to every collector, and is illustrated with nearly a thousand woodcuts, exhibiting representations of some of the vessels themselves, as well as all the monograms by which this manufactory is distinguished. An interesting sketch is given of the strata in which Roman remains in London have been obtained. Of mediæval earthenware vessels, nearly every variety of form is exhibited, and numerous anecdotes given illustrative of their manufacture, and the purposes for which they were employed. The marks and monograms of majolica are very numerous. In the histories of the different potteries, abroad and at home, the particulars are well detailed: that of the ware of Henri II will be read with much interest. In England twenty-five pieces only are known, twenty-eight in France, and in Russia one. The collections in which these are deposited are given. In an Appendix Mr. Chaffers has given an exceedingly useful Chronological Table of the Establishment of Porcelain Manufactories, arranged from the *Histoire de Porcelaine*, by Jacquemart and Le Blant, distinguishing those of artificial, soft and hard paste, and commencing with the dynasty of Han, B.C. 185. The honour of its invention is given to Sin p'ing. In Japan the foundation of porcelain manufacture dates A.D. 27.

Mr. Chaffers has also just published "A List of Hall Marks on Plate," by which the date of manufacture of English plate may easily be ascertained. This, as well as the preceding work from the same pen, will be found to constitute an useful manual of the subject on which it treats, and we, therefore, recommend them to the notice of our readers.

CORINIUM.—Professor Buckman, whose researches at Corinium, recorded in the pages of this Journal, and in conjunction with Mr. C. Newmarch, in their work, entitled "Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the Site of Ancient Corinium," has retired from his professorship at the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, and generously proposes to present to the town a collection, consisting of numerous Roman remains deposited by him in the Museum. Several of these specimens are unique of their kind, and possess peculiar interest, from having been found in the locality. It is, we are glad to learn, proposed to present to the Professor a testimonial, to manifest the esteem and regard in which the people of Cirencester hold Mr. Buckman, and to mark the sense they entertain of his friendly disposition and distinguished talents.

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ON UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO MEAUX ABBEY.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

IN the East Riding of Yorkshire, at a distance of about five miles and three quarters north of Hull,¹ on a spot, "nemoribus et fructetis consitum, aquis et paludibus cinctum et frugi terrarum glebâ fecundum," was founded, in the year 1150, the Cistercian abbey of Melsa, or Meaux, by William le Gros, third Earl of Albemarle and lord of Holderness.

The description given by Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, of this once flourishing institution is very meagre, and in some cases (as, for instance, in his enumeration of the abbots) inaccurate. This, however, is not to be wondered at, inasmuch as the principal volume which contains the only full details we possess concerning Meaux Abbey, has until lately escaped the notice, not only of individuals, but even of such learned and zealous societies as the Surtees and Roxburghe clubs, and others who have already published valuable works illustrative of the history and antiquities of this county. This particular MS., however, will be more fully described hereafter : suffice it for the present to state that it is one of the Egerton Collection in the British Museum ; that it is a folio volume, on vellum, written at the

¹ On the Ordnance Map the site of Meaux Abbey occupies about a mile and a half between Routh on the north, Waghen (or Wawne) on the south, Beverley on the west and north, Skirlaugh on the east.

end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century; that it is noticed by Tanner as having been once in the custody of Sir William Alford, of Meaux, Knight; and that it contains annals of the monastery, and a chronicle of all the most important events connected with it, from the date of its establishment to the reign of Henry V.

A partial account of the early history of Meaux Abbey, with the original charter of its foundation, has been printed by Dugdale. The first unpublished document in connexion with it, which I have been able to discover, is a charter of Henry II (Cotton, ch. xi, 27). It is an undated confirmation of a compact between William Earl of Albemarle, the founder of the abbey, and John de Melsa, concerning the exchange of Bewick, co. York, for the land on which the abbey was built. It grants to the monks the land on which the abbey stood, "cum o'ibus p'tinentiis suis in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in aq's et molend' in stagnis et piscariis et in mariseis. In viis semitis et in om'ib' aliis locis." This grant is mentioned in the *Cronica* as having been made in the time of Philip, the second abbot, who was instituted in 1160; and therefore the instrument itself must be referred to a period of about ten years after the foundation of the abbey. The next document is a translation of a charter which is in the possession of the Mayor and Corporation of Hull, and is also undated. It must, however, be referred to about the same period as the former one; for in this instance also we find, from the *Cronica*, that the lands mentioned in the grant did not form part of the possessions of the abbey until the time of Philip, the second abbot. The instrument itself is as follows:—

"To all sons of holy mother Church, as well present as to come, who shall see and hear these letters, Matilda Camin, daughter of Hugh Camin, sends greeting. Know ye that I have demised and sold to the monks of Melsa the entire two parts of the land of my patrimony of seven stangs and four oxgangs of land in the territory of the aforesaid vill of Myton, viz.: those four oxgangs which did pertain to my part when the land was divided between me and the Lady Anor, my mother, and pasture for eight hundred sheep, with all other appurtenances within the vill and without; so, nevertheless, that the three oxgangs which remain in the aforesaid vill, of my fee, shall have as much pasture as per-

tains to three other oxgangs which the monks hold in the same town. Also I have sold to the said monks the toft in which the hall was situate, with all the tofts which did pertain to my aforesaid part, and the bed of one fishery in the Humber, and two parts of the salt-pits of my fee in the same vill; and two parts of Cotecroft and two parts of Lancroft, in the same manner in which the aforesaid parts were divided when the aforesaid land of Myton was partitioned between me and the before named Anor, my mother. And all my jurisdiction of the aforesaid vill, as it remained to my part and to my use on the day on which partition was made between me and my mother, with all the appurtenances within and without the vill, without any retention, I have sold to the aforesaid monks for fourscore and eleven marks of silver, which they have given to me. And I grant, and by testimony of the present deed, as far as in me is, do confirm to the aforesaid church of Melsa, that all the aforesaid premises shall be holden of me and my heirs in perpetual alms, free from all earthly service which shall pertain to me or my heirs; saving, nevertheless, foreign service, as much as pertain to other four oxgangs of land in the same vill of the same tenement, except counties and wapentakes and tithings, whereof I and my heirs will wholly acquit the monks of the aforesaid church; and with all other liberties and free customs the aforesaid monks shall have and hold all the aforesaid premises as freely as I or any of my ancestors at any time more freely held the same in meadows, in pastures, in fields, in waters, in ways, in paths, and in all other easements within the vill and without. And that all the premises may be holden as aforesaid, and warranted against all men, to the use of the church of Melsa, and the monks there serving God without evil design, I have placed the same in the hands of Basilia, daughter of Odo de Friboys, and have confirmed the same by my oath on the holy evangelists, before these witnesses."

Then follow the names of the witnesses.¹ And in Cotton MSS., Vit., c. 6, p. 23**b**, is an instrument setting forth the acceptance of the land by the monks of Meaux, together with other gifts made by various benefactors. In this latter document, however, the name of Matilda's husband, Robert,

¹ These are printed at full length in Tickell's *History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull*.

the son of John de Melsa, is mentioned as having been one of the parties to the sale; and therefore we may presume that Matilda Camin became his wife between the time of her agreeing to sell her land to the monks, and the final conclusion of the bargain by their accepting and paying for the same.

The volume in which the above named acceptance is contained, was written at the end of the fourteenth century, and abounds with curious and interesting details respecting the monastery. It is in folio, on vellum, and is entitled "*Registrum Foundationis et Cartaru' Monasterii de Melsa in agro Eboracensi in quo quamplurima de Privilegiis Monachoru' Cistersiensiu'.*" As an abstract of its contents has been printed by Dugdale, it will be superfluous for me to enumerate them. Among other particulars stated are—the names of the feoffees of the monastery, descriptions of the lands and tenements belonging to it, the revenues accruing to it from various sources, the nature of its quit-claims and reliefs, copies of charters of confirmation of various gifts and exchanges made to and by the monks, and granted by kings of England from Stephen to Richard II; with divers particulars concerning the income and possessions of the monastery. Of these the last is, "Numerus monachor' breviamantum auior' et stat' alior' quorumcunq' mobil'm mon' anno d'ni mill'mo ccc^{mo} nonag'imo sexto." In this an inventory is given of the furniture, vestments, cattle, and ecclesiastical ornaments belonging to the monastery; and of the plate, which must have been of very considerable value. Thus, for instance, in the refectory were eighteen large silver goblets. In the abbot's lodging were "cuppa una argentea et deaurata dicta le Wakecopp qua' D'n's Tho' de Wake dedit mon'," weighing three pounds seven ounces; with several other silver-gilt cups and flagons weighing upwards of a pound each. Besides these were silver tankards, spoons, salt-cellars, and spice-box; a pyx, a chain with the abbot's seal, and many other items,—making in all a total of sixty pounds, sixteen ounces, and eleven pennyweights.

It would occupy too much time were I to enter into anything like a detailed account or enumeration of the various valuable articles specified in the different rooms and offices, I shall therefore conclude my necessarily imperfect notice of this MS. by an instance of the minute manner in which the

church is described. The writer says, "at the high altar were several pictures and images, with a curtain in the background of them, all becomingly painted; four iron candlesticks, and an amber candelabrum hanging in the middle of the choir; a large organ at the east end of the church, and a small one in the choir; a reredos behind the three altars at the east end of the church; a clock which strikes the hours; a large bell in the bell-tower, another for intimating the canonical hours, a third for summoning the community to the chapter and refreshment, and a fourth in the western part of the church, over the clock, to strike the hours; a small fifth one over the dormitory, to awake the monks; a sixth smaller one, kept by the sacristan, and used for the chapel of the infirmary; a seventh in the cloisters, to summon the monks from their studies in winter time. There were also two bells in the 'Capella de Bosco,' which was a small chapel, probably in the wood outside the monastery; and another small one in the 'capella extra portas.'" After continuing this exact account of the church itself, we next have a detailed inventory of the furniture and ornaments, among which are specified several ivory carvings, such as chests and images of the Virgin Mary. Then follows a list of the books, filling several pages; and the volume closes with the accounts of two courts held at Burstwick and Clayton.

The most important, however, of the MSS. which I have to notice,—not only because, as I have already observed, it is the least known, but also because it gives the fullest particulars of the history of the abbey,—is the Egerton MS. 1141, to which I briefly adverted at the commencement of this paper. The synopsis of its contents is as follows. First, "a chronicle of the monastery of Meaux, treating of the foundation and progress of the same; of the acquisition and enfeoffments of the holdings belonging to the same; of the pleas, processes, taxations, and other matters relating to the same; set forth according to the order and time of each of the abbots who continuously and one after the other presided over the same from the year 1150 to about 1400." Some portions, however, of this chronicle have been abstracted from the volume (viz., chapters 1-5, and part of 6 of the fifteenth abbot, the whole of the seventeenth abbot, and chap. 1 of the eighteenth), having probably been cut out by

the monks themselves, in order to avoid claims made upon them in respect of certain churches, and two dykes or canals, the names of which are erased in the catalogue of abbots which is prefixed. Next follows "a process for the diminution of the taxation of the monastery, commenced 20 Richard II" (1396-7), and ending *circa* 5 Henry V (1418); being an account of proceedings taken by the abbot and monks in order to obtain a reduction of their assessment for the subsidy from the clergy, on the plea of injury to lands which they held in the parishes of Easington and Skipsea from overflowings of the Humber. Then "a memorandum of the number of shires, towns, parishes, and knights' fees, in England; together with the amount of the subsidy of the fifteenth from the laity, and the tenth from the clergy." After this "a feodary of the monastery to Pentecost A.D. 1396," followed by "withdrawals of services and rents;" then "measurements of the lands of the monastery," and "extracts from the account rendered of all the receipts and expenditure of the monastery from the feast of St. Mark (25 April), A.D. 1393, to the same day in the ensuing year." Next, "a list of the officers of the monastery at the time of the above mentioned account, notifying the changes made in the year 1394;" and "rents in perpetuity, arising from tenements belonging to the monastery, as they are paid year by year." Then "a statement of the payments ordinarily assessed upon each of the churches belonging to the monastery," followed by "the extent and amount of taxation of its temporalities and spiritualities; a list of the farms held for terms of years; and the allowances of food, meat, and clothing, granted by the monastery; the feodaries of those who pay a stated rent *per annum*; laches and defaults of rent; the wages and allowances of the servants; the measurement of the pasture land of Skerne; the rental of the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Meaux at the feast of Pentecost, 1394, shewing all the rents and returns accruing from all its churches, granges, lands, and tenements whatsoever, which are held of the abbot and convent of the said monastery in perpetual fee, for terms of life, or years, or at will; a memorandum of those who do not pay rents set down in the aforesaid rental, at the aforesaid feast of Pentecost, A.D. 1394;" and lastly, "the remaining rents for which the bursar is wont to render a yearly account."

Such, then, are the contents of this volume, which is more-over important and interesting, not only with respect to its statements concerning the monastery itself, but also on account of much collateral history that it contains; and from the circumstance that in the "*Cronica*" at the end of each abbot's reign, is inserted a narration of contemporary events, which not only illustrates the habits and belief of the times, but will also afford a fund of amusement to those who will read it when it is published, as it is about to be, in the series which is already being issued under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls.

In proof of the truth of these assertions I may mention that several genealogies are given in it,—such, for instance, as those of the old Earls of Albemarle; from Odo, Earl of Champagne and Holderness, who died in 1096, to Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III; with personal anecdotes of their lives and actions; besides genealogies and histories of several private families, such as the Brays, Hildyards, Fossards, and others. All these are illustrated with quaint descriptions of, and remarks upon, contemporary events, such as battles, natural phenomena, law-suits connected with the monastery, lives of the popes and the archbishops of York, the history of the Knights Templars, and a great variety of other subjects. It will, I doubt not, be read, when it is given to the public, by many who are now present; but in the meanwhile I will, in order to give you a sample of its quality, lay before you a few extracts translated from the original Latin.

The first marvel which we have related is the following, which we are told took place in the reign of Stephen, who died four years after the foundation of the abbey, "in whose time," says our author, "a certain soldier, by name Oswey, chanced to have obtained admission into St. Patrick's purgatory; and upon his return he gave an account of the joys and pains which he had witnessed there."

In the tenth year of Henry II we learn that at "about the first hour there appeared in the sky three circles and two suns; and a dragon of immense size was seen at St. Osith (Osey Island, co. Essex), sailing through the air, so close to the earth that divers houses were burnt by the heat which proceeded from him."

In the twenty-third year of King Henry, "the bodies of

Arthur, some time king of the Britons, and of Wenevere his wife, were found at Glastonbury, between two stone pyramids formerly erected in the sacred cemetery. They were hidden by a hollow oak, lay about fifteen feet deep in the ground, and were distinguished by the most unmistakable marks; for Arthur's thigh-bone, when examined, exceeded by three fingers in length the length of the tallest man's thigh-bone that had ever been found, when measured down to the knee. Moreover, the space between his eyebrows was of the breadth of the palm of a man's hand."

Speaking of that with which many of us are, alas! but too familiar, viz. a London fog, which occurred *circa* 1224, the writer says:—"While the Bishop of London (Eustace de Fauconberg, Lord Treasurer) was officiating in St. Paul's, there came on suddenly such a thickness of the clouds and darkness of the sun, accompanied by thunder and lightning and a most foul stench, that the people departed, leaving only the bishop there with one attendant."

As illustrative of the spirit of the students of the period (*circa* 1250),—a spirit, by the way, not very dissimilar from that which they occasionally exhibit in our own days,—we have the following anecdote: "While Ottoboni, the pope's legate, was passing through Oxford, the scholars did attack certain of his attendants to such purpose that Ottoboni was perforce compelled to take refuge in the church tower of Osney until evening, when he was released by some of the king's servants who were despatched from Abingdon. Hence followed excommunication and suspension of the University, until the abbot and monks of Osney, accompanied by the regent masters of Oxford, appeared before the legate in London barefooted and meanly clad; and even then with difficulty obtained pardon for their offence."

The following astronomical notice may be interesting as making mention of what is probably the comet which is said to return periodically at intervals of three hundred years: "A.D. 1264 so remarkable a comet appeared as no man then living had ever seen before. Rising from the east with great brilliancy, it dragged its glittering tail to the midst of the heaven, towards the west." With this phenomenon the writer connects the death of Pope Urban IV, which happened in the same year.

The following will be read with amusement, as forcibly

illustrating the superstitious prejudices of the period: "A certain Jew at Tewkesbury fell into a cesspool on his Sabbath day, and would not allow himself to be taken out, from honour to the Sabbath. For a similar reason Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, would not permit him to be dragged forth on the following day, being Sunday, out of reverence to *his* Sabbath, and so the Jew died there."

Again: "A.D. 1307," says the author, "the Templars in France were dispersed on account of their crimes and heresies": one charge being that they invoked bodily and worshipped the Devil and evil spirits; and another, that "they have in their possession the head of a certain Saracen, who was, as they believe, formerly the master of their order, and the introducer of their impious ceremonies. Now this head, on the first day of their general chapter, is placed before midnight in front of an altar in a certain chapel, and adorned with very costly robes. It is then worshipped, first by the master, then by the brethren. These latter being then solemnly asked by the master if they believe it to be their Saviour, they answer that they do. Then the mass is sung, and terminated before morning."¹

The persecutions endured by the Templars at this period are matters of history. A papal sentence was promulgated against the order by Clement V, and in the year 1312 he confiscated all their effects, and granted them to the Hospitallers.

The following extract is curious as shewing that the practice of passing francs for shillings is by no means exclusively a "dodge" of modern times, but that it existed even as early as the reign of Edward I: "In the time of this king," says the writer, "new coins, called *baslardi*, *pollardi*, *crocardi*, and *rosarii*, were brought into England by the frauds of foreign traders, both openly and secretly, in place of the sterling money, and were circulated throughout the country to such an extent that there was hardly such a thing as a *denarius coronatus*; and three of them [the foreign coins] were hardly worth one *sterlingum*."

In the year 1349 occurred one of those three² destructive

¹ For a full account of this matter, see the *History of the Knights Templars*, by C. G. Addison. London, 1842.

² Sir Richard St. George, Clarenceux (*temp.* Charles I), ascertained the exact duration of each of these visitations. See his calculations in Lansdowne MS. 863, f. 147b.

epidemics which visited this country, and many other parts of Europe, during the reign of Edward III. These plagues, or pestilences, were so memorable from their fatal effects, that they became epochs from which charters and various instruments were dated. The community at Meaux Abbey suffered so severely upon this occasion, that, as we are informed by the chronicler, the abbot (Hugh Leven), thirty-two monks and seven *conversi* died, the majority being carried off during the single month of August. The result of which was, that there being only ten monks left, and those juniors, who were not acquainted with the details and management of the revenues of the monastery, the accounts became so complicated as to cause a vast deal of confusion for several years. "In London," it is added, the mortality was so great that "two closes, or tofts, were specially set apart for the burial of the corpses; on which afterwards, as is well known, two monasteries were founded,—one of the Cistercian, the other of the Carthusian order." The latter of these is now the Charterhouse; and of the former the following account is given by Stow in his *Survey of London*. "On the east and by north of the Tower lie East Smithfield and Tower Hill, two plots of ground so called, without the walls of the city: and east from them both, was some time a monastery called *New Abbey*, and the *Abbey of Graces*, founded by K. Edward III, in the year 1359, upon occasion as followeth. In the year 1348 (23 Edward III) the first great pestilence in his time began, and increased so sore that, for want of room in churchyards to bury the dead of the city and of the suburbs, one John Corey, clerk, procured of Nicolas, prior of the Holy Trinity within Aldgate, one toft of ground near unto East Smithfield, for the burial of them that died, with condition that it might be called the churchyard of the Holy Trinity. Which ground he caused, by the aid of divers devout citizens, to be enclosed with a wall of stone. Robert Elsing, son of William Elsing, gave five pounds thereto; and the same was dedicated by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London; where innumerable bodies were afterwards buried, and a chapel built in the same place to the honour of God. To the which King Edward setting his eye, having before in a tempest on the sea, and peril of drowning, made a vow to build a monastery to the honour of God and our *Lady of Graces*, if God would grant him

grace to come safe to land, built there a monastery, causing it to be named *Eastminster*, placing an abbot and monks of the *Cistercian* or *White* order." He then gives the charter of its foundation, and a list of the manors, tenements, and legacies, granted and bequeathed to it; and lastly remarks: "This house, at the late general suppression, was valued at £546 : 0 : 10 yearly. It was surrendered in the year 1539 (30 Henry VIII), since the which time the said monastery being clean pulled down by Sir Arthur Davy, Knt., and others, of late time, in place thereof is built a large storehouse for victuals; and convenient ovens are built there for baking of biscuit to serve Her Majesty's ships. The grounds adjoining, and belonging to the said abbey, are employed in building of small tenements."

One of the phenomena which took place during this same memorable year, in a degree similar to that which we have so lately experienced, is thus narrated: "At the commencement of this same year (1349), during Lent, six days before Easter Sunday, there occurred an earthquake throughout the whole of England; so great that our monks of Melsa, while at vespers, on arriving at the verse 'He hath put down the mighty,' in the gospel hymn, were by this same earthquake thrown so violently from their stalls that they all lay prostrate on the ground."

It appears that the monastery was not always free from the intrigues of ambition and party feeling any more than were secular communities outside its walls; for we read that in the year 1353, William de Drynghowe, the abbot, was deposed under the following circumstances. John de Ryslay, the cellarer, having conceived a jealousy against his superior, and having determined, if possible, to supplant him, adopted the following device. He preferred a charge against the abbot of mal-administration, and also of receiving a horse that had been stolen; and he succeeded so effectually in fixing the crime upon him that he induced the judges, who were the abbots of Fountains and Louth Park, and one Hugh de Sancto Lupo, a monk of Citeaux, to pronounce him guilty and degrade him from his office. The cellarer was then appointed abbot in his stead; but the injustice of the case was so evident that he found it more convenient to resign. William de Drynghowe was afterwards reinstalled under the title of the seventeenth abbot.

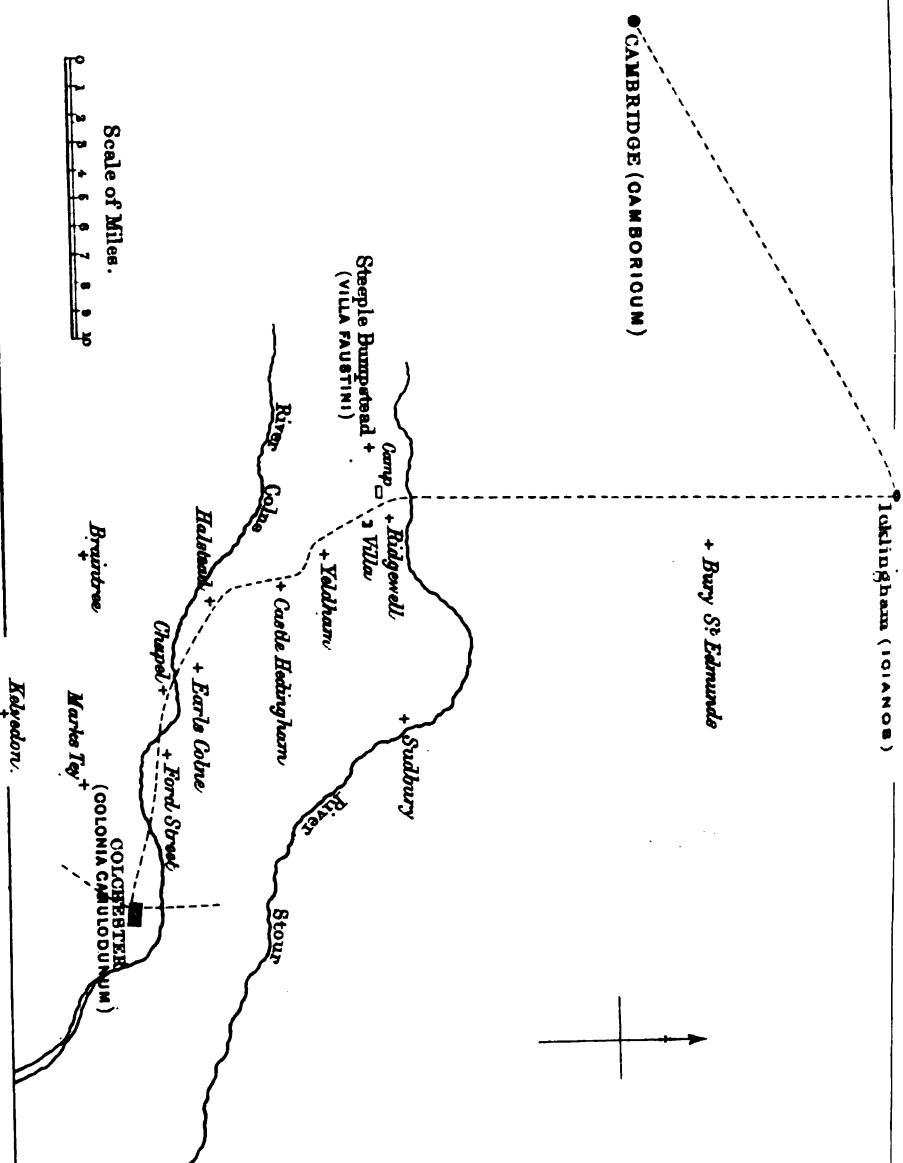
About the year 1360, under the abbacy of Robert, the sixteenth abbot, the monastery lost considerable tracts of land, owing to inundations of the Humber and encroachments of the sea. A whole town, which then stood in the parish of Easington, and was called "Ravenser-Odd," was utterly destroyed, and the inhabitants betook themselves to Kingston-upon-Hull and other neighbouring places. This town appears to have been built on a peninsula connected with the mainland by a causeway formed of sand and boulders, which was still visible in the author's time (A.D. 1400).

At the close of the Chronicle the following statement is given of the revenues of the monastery. The sum of the money-rent was at that time (1396) annually £342:19:8½; the sum of the income arising from churches and grangelands, in corn and other produce, amounted to £236; the average amount produced by wool, £32; the total of court perquisites, one hundred shillings. Thus the sum total amounted to £613:19:8½. "These are the liabilities of the house: in rents and annual payments and perpetual pensions, £34:18:2½; in the ordinary liabilities of parochial churches, the annual sum of £87:2:10; in tenants' fees, £9:11:8; in term-rents and allowances, £50. The sum total of the liabilities, therefore, amounted annually to £181:12:8½; thus leaving a balance in favour of the monastery of £432 7s. available for the expenses of the monastery. The number of horses belonging to the monastery was ninety-seven. There were three hundred and thirty head of cattle, and two thousand three hundred and sixty-one sheep and lambs. The number of resident monks was twenty-six."

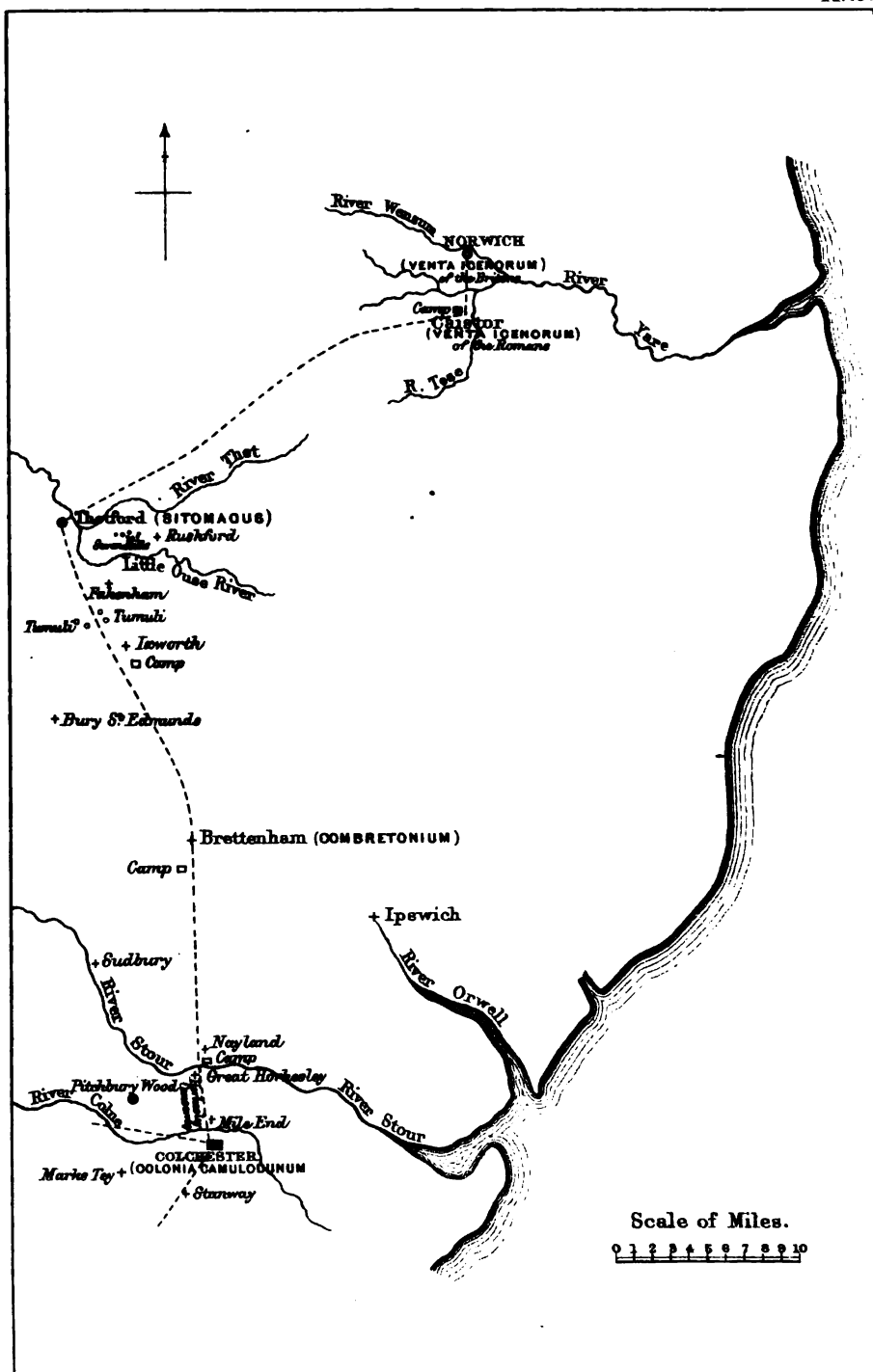
Thus ends the Chronicle of the abbey, from which it would have been easy to have extracted many more pages illustrative both of the state of the monastery itself, and of the history and belief of the times at which it was written. Enough however, it is hoped, has been said to indicate its value. There is, indeed, no class of MSS. more interesting and instructive than those which describe to us the religious foundations which flourished in days long past; and which recall to us the time when those ruins, which now in their hoary solitudes are the abodes of silence and decay, were full of life and of "the busy hum of men"; which, by revealing to us the thoughts, habits, and feelings, of the past, make











us better instructed and larger-hearted for the future. Of such a nature is the volume which has been thus imperfectly described; and it is one which we shall gladly hail upon its appearance, not only as a valuable addition to the history of Yorkshire, but as a work which illustrates in a variety of ways the manners and customs of former ages, and increases in no inconsiderable degree the knowledge which we already possess of the internal and external details of monastic life during the period of which it treats.

ON THE ROMAN ROADS MENTIONED IN ANTONINE'S "ITINERARY," AS LEADING TO
AND FROM COLCHESTER.

IN Antonine's *Itinerary* we meet with three, and only three Roman military ways connected with Colchester; namely, one leading to and from London, the second to Lincoln and onwards to Carlisle, and the third to Venta Icenorum, or the Roman station at Caistor in Norfolk. (See plates 17, 18, 19.)

I. Our antiquaries have hitherto failed in their endeavours to trace the course of these three ways through the county of Essex, and the following observations are offered with a view to the settlement of so interesting a question.

As the distance between Colchester and London given in Antonine, and the admeasurement of the present turnpike road differ only one mile; the former making it fifty-two miles, and the latter fifty-one, almost all our archæologists seem to have jumped at the conclusion that the modern road *must* have followed the course of the old Roman way, and to have forgotten that in the time of the Roman occupancy the site of the present turnpike road was mostly covered with woods. In many parts also on its south side it is commanded by higher and open ground. Moreover, no Roman camps corresponding in their position with the stations mentioned in Antonine have been discovered at or near the line of the present turnpike-road; whereas, on the higher ground to the south of it, and at the requisite dis-

tances, the remains of ancient encampments can still be pointed out.

Recent researches have satisfactorily shown that Antonine's ninth iter to London, after leaving Colchester by the gate on the Balkan-hill, entered the adjoining nursery garden, and turning southward, crossed the present turnpike road. It then passed between¹ the hospital and the grammar school, and continued its course in a straight line to the cottage, at the south-west corner of Mr. Errington's plantation at Battle End. On crossing the high road, which runs close by the cottage, it entered the parish of Stanway,² and traversing the Hall Farm (where it rises prominent in many places, though gradually yielding to the progress of agriculture), it proceeded over a small stream into Birch.³ In a field adjoining the churchyard of Great Birch may still be seen portions of the rampart of a small earthen fort with its ditch, known from time immemorial by the name of Birch Castle,⁴ and concerning its origin the most improbable

¹ The Hospital and the Grammar School stand on each side of the old Roman road leading to London, and in the midst of the Necropolis of Colonia. The workmen, whilst digging the foundation of the Hospital, in 1821, exhumed the well-wrought stone statue of a sphinx holding the mangled head of a man between its paws, and near it they discovered the remaining walls of a large Roman tomb. The sphinx is now deposited in the Colchester Museum, and has been figured in our *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 38. Now the Romans were accustomed to bury their dead along the public roads, and the sphinx was a sepulchral ornament common to their sepulchres. We may, therefore, fairly conjecture, that the Colchester sphinx had once been a sepulchral ornament on the top of the adjacent tomb. A similar statue of a sphinx was discovered not long since in the Roman cemetery at York.

² The old Saxon name of Stanway was *Stana-way*, i.e., the way of stones, and the parish was so called on account of several Roman ways which ran through it, one of which is here referred to.

³ The stream which along a considerable distance separates Stanway from Birch is called the *Roman river*. In ancient days it was most probably crossed by a bridge that gave rise to the name of Birch; for in *Domesday*, Birch is called *Briccia*, i.e., *Brig*—a bridge, afterwards corrupted into *Birg*, and finally into *Birch*.

⁴ Morant (vol. ii. p. 128) says: "Birch Castle stands a little way south-west from the church, and is only a mount encompassed with a trench. Sir William Gernon had a castle here. Whether this mount and trench are the remains of it, as the like mount and trench are of the castle or seat of the high constables of England at Pleshy, we cannot determine, unless it could be ascertained by the foundations of ancient edifices still visible. *We take this mount and trench to be rather a part and continuation of the stupendous Roman works on Lexden Heath, which are easily traced to this place, and much further.*" The Romans called small forts, either of earth or stone, *castella*, so that castle is most probably the very name given by the Romans to the small earthen fort at Birch. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood had been through many generations so accustomed to the name during the occupation of the Romans, that *castle* became, as it were, a household word amongst them, and even now survives,

stories were formerly circulated. The quadrangular form of this fort shews it to be Roman. Near it passed the Roman way, and near it, too, formerly stood a tumulus,¹ within which several Roman urns were found, evidently the burial-place of soldiers belonging to the fort. Morant² and other topographers of Essex tell us that the earthworks on Lexden Heath could easily in their day be traced onward to Birch Castle and beyond it; and thus do they unconsciously certify the course of the Itinerary way from Colchester to London.

Beyond Birch Castle the military way led to the top of the hill above Messing, where, at a place called Haynes Green (between Layer Marney Wood and Podswood), existed till lately the remains of a double-trenched Roman camp, which is now gradually disappearing beneath the encroachments of the plough. The manor in which the camp is situate is called Hareborough, *i.e.*, the army station. At this place we would fix the station called in Antonine's ninth iter *Canonium*.³ In the contiguous wood a tumulus formed of stones, points out the course of the Roman way, which passed along the hill to Great Tottenham, where stands another tumulus. Farther on the road crossed the river Chelmer, and from thence went on to Bilericay. On the north and west sides of this town a vast number of Roman remains, coins, urns, and pateræ have been dug up at various times. It is generally admitted by topographers to have been a Roman station, and its relative distance between Colchester and London, *i.e.*, nearly midway, enables us with little hesitation to fix on it as the station called in the *Itinerary*, *Cæsaromagus*, meaning the town of Cæsar,⁴ and so called by the Romans, because Julius

though the earthwork of the fort is almost demolished, and the origin of its name all but forgotten.

¹ This tumulus was taken down about a quarter of a century ago to widen the parish road.

² It is much to be regretted that neither Morant nor the other writers have given us any account of the exact course of the Roman works, leading from Lexden to Birch Castle and onwards, so visible in their days, but now to be followed dimly by conjecture.

³ There are strong reasons for supposing this to be the spot selected by Suetonius for his camp before his engagement with the Britons under Boadicea. (See Tacit. *Ann.*, lib. xiv, c. 34.) The site corresponds in several of the particulars mentioned by Tacitus.

⁴ The true derivation of the name *Cæsaromagus* did not occur to Camden and his followers, because they all erroneously conjectured that Julius Cæsar, after his passage across the Thames, directed his march to Verulam, in Hertfordshire.

Cæsar encamped there on his second invasion of Britain, and made it his head quarters during his negotiations with the Trinobantes.

Billericay, at the first arrival of the Saxons, must have been a town or fortress of importance, because it gives the Saxon name to the parish in which it is situate. Burgstead, *i.e.*, the place of the fortress. Billericay¹ is the old British name of the town, and we conjecture it to be equivalent in its meaning to the Latin term *Cæsaromagus*.

From Billericay the way passed by Blunts walls, where are the remains of earthen ramparts enclosing about four acres, and where once stood several tumuli, out of which many Roman remains have been dug. From thence through Ingrave,² Warley, and Hornchurch, to the large Roman camp at Barking,³ *i.e.*, Burg-ing—the fortress in the valley. Here we fix the Roman station, *Durolitum*, *i.e.*, the muddy or tidal water, a name which accords with the position of the camp. On its west side runs the river Roden, and its southern side was washed by the tidal waters of the Thames, which then overflowed the adjacent marshes. A manor hard by in the parish of Hornchurch is still called Dover, from the British word Dwfr=water, and is equivalent to *Duro* in the name *Durolitum*.

From Barking the way went through Ilford to the river Roden, and on to Old Ford, where it crossed the river Lea, and thence into London.

But a careful perusal of Cæsar's own account will satisfy the candid reader that Essex was the scene of Cæsar's chief operations in his second campaign; and, when we bear in mind his route, and the commanding position of Billericay, it is evident that no place could have been better suited for his military operations, or agree better with his details of the campaign.

¹ There are only two places in England called Billericay, one in Essex, the other in Kent, on the seashore near Lymne, where Cæsar is generally supposed to have landed. This coincidence in the names of the two places confirms the conjecture that Billericay (like the Latin term *Cæsaromagus*) takes its derivation from Cæsar.

² The old road to Essex from London by Hornchurch, came through Ingrave between the church and the hall. (See *Hist. of Essex* by a Gentleman, vol. v, page 55.)

³ The form of this entrenchment (says Mr. Lethuillier) is not regular, but tending to a square: the circumference measures 1792 yards; the enclosed area contains 48 acres, 1 rood, and 34 perches. On the N.E. and S. sides it is single trenched. On the west side, which runs parallel with the river Roden, and at a short distance from it, is a double trench and bank. On the south side is a deep morass, but on the N. and E. sides the ground is dry and level; the trench, from frequent ploughing, is almost filled up. At the N.W. corner there was an outlet to a very fine spring of water, which was guarded by an inner work, and a high keep or mound of earth.

II. The fifth iter of Antonine runs from London through Colchester to Lincoln and Carlisle.

The first station in this iter beyond Colchester, is *Villa Faustini*, which, for reasons presently to be stated, we fix at Steeple Bumpstead, a parish in the hundred of Hinckford. Here, in the last century, stood a large Roman camp, at the requisite distance of twenty-five miles from Colchester.¹ This camp has been noticed by several topographers of Essex, who remark that the great quantity of stone foundations discovered within it led them to conjecture that it had been a Roman station, and the number of urns and skeletons dug up in the adjacent cemetery gave evidence of its long occupation by the Romans. The vallum at the south-west end was taken down in January, 1793, but part of the west vallum is noticed as remaining in the present century.

Now, in the parish of Ridgewell, two miles nearer to Colchester, and close to the same military way, the remains of a large Roman villa were laid open in 1801. The villa stood on an eminence commanding a wide and varied prospect of the surrounding district; and from the road and the villa the parish appears to have taken its name. *Ridge*² signifying the agger of the Roman road; *well* being a corruption of the word *villa*—i.e., the villa on the military way. Faustinus was probably the name of its original proprietor, a man of local importance, and his mansion conspicuous from its size and elevation. From him and his house the neighbouring station may be supposed to have received its distinctive title of *Villa Faustini*.

An interesting account of this villa, of the military way through Ridgewell, and of the Roman camp beyond it, illustrated by an accurate map, will be found in the fourteenth volume of the *Archæologia*. But neither the able writer of the above article (Mr. Walford), nor the other local historians, in describing the camp at Steeple Bumpstead, make any reference to Antonine's 5th iter; although they con-

¹ Some editions of Antonine's *Itinerary* have thirty-five miles, but twenty-five is now generally supposed to be the right number, and with it the distance of the camp at Steeple Bumpstead from Colchester exactly agrees.

² Camden, in the preface to his *Briannia* (page 47) observes, that the Roman itinerary ways are distinguished in many places by their high ridges, and some of them are called "high-ridge," "ridge-way," and "tracing banks." Mr. Walford, in his description of the villa at Ridgewell, says, that he thought the parish took its name from the Roman ridgeway which passes through it.

jecture from the magnitude of the camp, and from the burial-grounds around it, that it was the site of a Roman station. They seem not to have comprehended the etymology of Ridgewell, and thereby failed to discover the name either of the villa or the camp.

We will now return to Colchester, and briefly describe the course of the old Roman way from that town, *i.e.*, Colonia, to the station at Steeple Bumpstead. It left Colchester at the Decuman gate on the Balkan Hill; it passed through the adjoining nursery-ground, and joined the present turnpike road just below the hospital. But instead of at once crossing the turnpike as before, in the ninth iter, it continued along it and through the village of Lexden for two miles. Just beyond the second milestone the turnpike road divides into two parts, one leading to London, the other to Cambridge. Here the old Roman way to Villa Faustini is identical with the turnpike road to Cambridge, and descending to Ford-street,¹ crossed the river Colne, and passed through Chapel, heretofore called Pontesbrigg.² Following almost the same course as the modern turnpike road it proceeded through Colne,³ Halstead, Castle Hedingham and Yeldham,

¹ Ford-street and Stratford are synonymous, and almost invariably betoken the course of a Roman road; *Strat*, from *Stratum*, signifying causeway, or street; and *Ford*, in its original, or British, meaning, implying merely a way or passage, but in its secondary meaning a passage through water. The remains of the old Roman roads in many parts of England are called streets; but *Stratford* seems generally to imply a raised road or causeway leading to a ford or passage through a river.

² Chapel is a modern name given to a portion or hamlet of Great Tey parish, which portion had previously, and from time immemorial, been called Pontesbrigg,—a name compounded of the Roman word *pontes* (bridges), and the Saxon word *brigg*, also signifying a bridge. To bear out this statement, it must be remembered that *Chapel* adjoins the district of the Colnes, where Roman colonists had settled and continued for centuries. They first gave the name of *Pontes* to the place from several small bridges there thrown over the river. The long residence of the Romans in the district made *Pontes* a household word, in the same manner as *Castellum* had become at Birch; but the Saxons, on their arrival, not knowing the meaning of the word *Pontes*, and seeing several bridges over the river, added the word *brigg* as an appropriate term; and called the place *Pontesbrigg*,—a name that was retained till the fourteenth century, when a chapel was built there and endowed. It then became a distinct parish, and took its present name, *Chapel*.

³ The Roman way passed directly through Earl's Colne. The adjoining parishes are called White Colne, Wake's Colne, and Colne-Engaine. All these parishes are spoken of under the generic name of "The Colnes." This name is derived from the Latin word *coloni* (*i.e.*, colonists), because a portion of the colony of Veterans, settled at Colchester, took possession of and cultivated this district. They were called *Coloni* to distinguish them from the native Britons who lived around them. After a time *Coloni* became a local name, and was

to Ridgewell. From thence the Roman way passed through the parish of Badbrook to Steeple Bumpstead, where stood the remains of the camp described and delineated by Mr. Walford, and which agrees with the station, Villa Faustini, in its distance from Colchester, its contiguity to a remarkable Roman villa, and its relative position to Icianos, *i.e.*, Icklingham.

At Steeple Bumpstead the military way of the fifth iter left the straight and direct route to Cambridge, and, crossing the river Stour, near the station, entered Suffolk, and passed on to Icklingham. Here, in a place called Kent Field (apparently a corruption of Camp Field), stood an old Roman entrenchment containing about twenty-five acres. The valium is visible all around it, except where moorish ground has brought it to decay. Numerous coins and Roman relics of various kinds are dug up here. It is distant about twenty-two miles from the station at Steeple Bumpstead, and here we would place the station Icianos of the fifth iter. From thence the way turns sharp to the west (as it were almost backward), and went to Cambridge (Camboricum), distant twenty-two miles and a half.

III. The ninth iter of Antonine runs from Venta Icenorum, *i.e.*, Caistor in Norfolk, through Colchester to London. A portion of it between Colchester and London has already been described, and we will now proceed to point out the remainder of its course from Colchester to Venta Icenorum. It is necessary, however, to premise our remarks, by stating that Venta Icenorum, the metropolis of the Iceni, is Norwich, but that the Roman station in the ninth iter, called Venta Icenorum, is the Roman camp at Caistor¹ on the Tese, three miles south of Norwich. This distinguished appellation was given to it by the Romans on account of its contiguity to the capital of the Iceni of that name, just as in the fifth iter they called the station at Steeple Bumpstead

permanently attached to the district, which from them is called "The Colnes" even to the present day.

¹ Mr. Hudson Gurney has endeavoured to prove that Norwich is the Roman station; but Mr. Vere Irving justly observes: "To one who visits both Norwich and Caistor, without being cognisant of the rivalry between them, a doubt on the matter would hardly occur. At the latter you have one of the finest Roman stations in the kingdom; at the former you only meet with some isolated remains, not more than are consistent with the existence of a single Roman villa." (See *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, xiv, p. 308.)

Villa Faustini, from its proximity to the mansion or villa of Faustinus at Ridgewell.

With regard to the exact line which the ninth iter took between Colchester and Caistor there has been great difference of opinion. Some archæologists have supposed that the road passed by Ipswich and thence eastward through Blythburgh; others have supposed that, on leaving Ipswich, it went by Stowmarket and Scole Inn. But most commentators have given the route a more westerly direction, and conjectured that it ran by Nayland, Brettenham, and Thetford. In support of the latter opinion a chain of evidence can be produced, so strong and connected, as to leave little doubt that it is the correct one.

Its course may thus be described. The road left Colchester at the north gate, and crossing the river Colne, entered the parish of Mile End. Here, by the road-side, at the distance of one mile from Colchester, stood the old church of St. Michael,¹ now disused. The situation of this church so near the road, and to the first milliary from Colchester, seems to have given rise to the name of the parish.

Beyond Mile End the road entered the parish of Great Horkesley, where its agger, or ridgeway, more than three miles in length, formed a conspicuous object before the heath was enclosed.² The modern road called Horkesley Causeway was made by levelling the materials of the Roman agger, and runs in a straight line through the parish of Great Horkesley to Nayland.³

¹ A great number of churches in England are built either upon, or near to, remarkable sites. For instance: Birch Church is close to a Roman fort, or *castellum*; West Mersea Church is built over the remains of a Roman pavement, or *villa*; Caistor Church within a Roman entrenchment; South Weald Church adjoins an old British *oppidum*; and Mile End Church at or near the first milestone on the military road from Colchester to Ad Ansam. It has been attempted, in modern days, to change the name of *Mile End* into *Myland*; but all the old documents, with one or two exceptions, read Mile End,—and, according to the adage, “the exception proves the rule.” If the name was “Myland,” whose land was it? Had it been the king’s, it would have been styled “Our Land.” Now we do know that the whole wood at Mile End belonged to the king; and the name Mile End seems to settle the question that the road running through it from Colchester was Roman.

² Mr. Hartshorne, in his enumeration of the remains of Roman roads through England, makes mention of the Horkesley Causeway. (See *Salopia Antiqua*.)

³ In the middle of the parish of Great Horkesley, and about half a mile to the west of the Roman road, lies Pitchbury Wood,—so called because the Picts, when they invaded the eastern part of Britain, and plundered Colchester, were here encamped. Their camp is marked in the Ordnance Map; but the ramparts

At the bottom of the hill into Nayland, and before you enter the village, the entrenchment of a small camp is visible on the right hand. This camp, as regards situation and distance from Colchester, answers to the station, "*Ad Ansam*," of the *Itinerary* of Antonine. Although Richard of Cirencester does not give the name of the station, yet he places one in his third iter, on the banks of the Stour, six miles from Colchester, and his description of it corresponds with the situation of this camp. Concerning the meaning and derivation of its name, "*Ad Ansam*," we will venture to add one more to the many derivations already given. It lies exactly midway between Venta Icenorum and London. Now *Hanner* is the British word for *half*, and *Sau* or *Sa*, for *station*; i.e., *Hanner-sau*, the half, or midway station; and, by removing the aspirate, *anner-sau* can easily be abbreviated into *An-sau*.

Fifteen miles beyond Ad Ansam is the station Combretonium, a name of British derivation—*Cwm* signifying a *valley*, and *Bretton*, the name of the stream which flows through it. At a similar distance from Nayland (fifteen miles), in the direction of Caistor, is the parish of Brettenham in Suffolk, where Roman coins are frequently found, and where may be traced the remains of an old camp, about a quarter of a mile to the south-west of the village.

The position of this camp between Colchester and Caistor, its distance from Nayland, and the name of the parish in which it is situate, all tend to strengthen the conjecture that it was once the site of *Combretonium*.

The next station is Sitomagus, which Camden and most of our antiquaries fix at Thetford. Although the reasons given by Camden¹ for this supposition are too fanciful, yet Thetford is undoubtedly a town of great antiquity, where numerous coins have been dug up, and it is generally considered to have been a Roman station. Between it and

have since been levelled, and converted into arable land. Dr. Stukeley, in noticing this camp, hazards a vain conjecture that it had once been occupied by King Coel. On account of its situation and distance from Colchester I once supposed that it was the station *Ad Ansam*; but I now feel convinced that the Roman station (also marked in the Ordnance Map) lies close to Nayland, as is shewn in the annexed map.

¹ "*Sitomagus*," Camden says, "signifies in British, a city upon the river *Sit*. Now that *Thet* (for that *magus* signified formerly a city, we have the authority of Pliny) so does Thetford signify in English, a ford of the "*Thet*"; and these two names, *Sit* and *Thet*, are not very unlike."

Brettenham (before the enclosure of the land) many earthen mounds or tumuli attracted the attention of travellers. Some of them from their appearance at stated intervals, and in a regular line, may possibly have been so placed to distinguish the distance—at all events they show the direction of a road; and as the interval between Brettenham and Thetford corresponds nearly with that between Combretonium and Sitomagus, and as the relative position of the two places also corresponds, we are firmly of opinion that Thetford was once Sitomagus.

From Thetford the Roman way ran in nearly a straight line to Caistor, and the nearness of the distance, twenty-nine miles, to that between Sitomagus and Venta Icenorum, in the ninth iter of Antonine, thirty-one miles, together with the remains of the Roman camp at Caistor, affords convincing testimony that the latter is the Roman station, *Venta Icenorum*, as distinct from Norwich, the *venta* or the metropolis of the Iceni, from which it took its name. The Roman station, so called, is situate on the banks of the Tese, and its present state is thus described by a modern traveller.¹

“It lies on a gentle slope above the banks of the river Tese, and gives the appellation of Caistor, or the camp, to the parish in which it is situate. The encampment is in shape of a parallelogram with the corners rounded off, and comprises a space of thirty-two acres. It was surrounded by a strong wall, and at each corner is a raised mount, on which stood a bastion tower. On the western side and angle, close to the river, the tower, which has been much higher, is still thirty-three feet in circumference, and though continually washed by the river, exhibits an instance of the incomparable masonry of the Romans, and of their peculiar mode of building. The walls are composed of alternate layers of Roman tiles and flints, imbedded in a strong cement. Within the area of the camp, near the south-east corner, stands the parish church, probably erected on that site for the convenience of obtaining the materials, which are evidently taken from the ruins of the rampart. The walls of the church are principally constructed with flint, but the angles are formed of Roman tiles. On the south-east side, near the end of the chancel, is a well about five feet deep, full of never-failing water.”

¹ See *Beauties of England and Wales*, ii, p. 189.

Stations.	Miles.	Sites of the Stations.	Miles.
Camulodunum—			
Canonium	9 ...	Hayne's Green	8
Cæsaromagus	12 ...	Billericay	18
Durolitum	16 ...	Barking Creek	16
Londinum	15 ...	London	10
	—		—
	52		52
Camulodunum—			
Villa Faustini	25 ...	Steeple Bumpstead	25
Camulodunum—			
Ad Ansam	6 ...	Nayland	6
Combretonium	15 ..	Brettenham	15
Sitomagus	22 ...	Thetford	22
Venta Icenorum	31 ...	Caistor	29
	—		—
	74		72

ON BRIXWORTH CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

BY EDWARD ROBERTS, HON. SEC., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., ETC.

FEW of those who have occasion to search for records of ancient buildings will feel surprise at the silence of the mediæval writers on those subjects; for, unless connected with some act of religious fervour, or with some historical legend, they are unchronicled: we are thus left to read the histories of many edifices from their materials and workmanship, which, in mediæval ages, bore the impress of the time with a distinctness and character which has only recently been fully appreciated and studied. It is to be regretted that the period which we now term "Saxon," namely that from the departure of the Romans to the advent of the Normans, had less of architectural change than later periods, as we can very rarely tell within some centuries the age of work of Saxon origin. In other parts of Europe there are distinctions and stages which mark successive æras, and it is not improbable that it was equally so here. But the works of art which are there more especially the means of determining the age than mere construction, are almost entirely wanting in this country in connection with buildings.

It thus happens that BRIXWORTH CHURCH, which, during the last thirty years has received an unusual amount of

attention, has been assigned to the ROMAN period; the NORMAN period; and to all ages between those limits. It is now generally, and I think correctly, admitted to be SAXON; but we have only surmises as to what part of the several centuries comprised in that term can have seen the erection of this subject of discussion.

We must take it for granted that it was neither singular nor uncommon, otherwise some notice would have been taken of it. If, however, there were many others of a similar kind, they have all been lost and forgotten; we have mention, it is true, of such favoured places as Hexham, Lindisfarne, Minster, Wenlock, and others; but almost every trace of the originals has been destroyed: and in this district we have several others named in conjunction with this as dependent on Peterborough. It becomes necessary, therefore, to turn our eyes abroad in order to be able even partially to read this puzzle, but the abundance of materials scattered over Southern Europe renders it a comparatively easy task and engenders some surprise at the failure of the modern commentators to make the comparisons which are so natural.

It may be well at the commencement to state that, with the exception of the mention of the place (not the church) in *Domesday Book*, a few lines by Leland, and the several ecclesiastical valuations, the name scarcely occurs in any documents hitherto noticed. It will be seen that I have added to the list of documentary evidence, though not of much value in reference to determining the question of the *exact* antiquity of the church, but still having some interest and directing inquiry: as regards the building, my observations are necessarily the result of a personal examination of the fabric itself.

Taking the evidences *seriatim* we must remark the entry in *Domesday Book*, "*Northantscire*. In Maleslea H^a. Rex ten. Briclesworde. Ibi sunt ix hidæ & dimid'. Tra e' xxxv car'. In d'nio sunt ii^m & xiiii uill'i cu' p'bro & xv bord' h'ntes xv car'. Ibi ii moli in de xxxiii sol'. & iiii den: & viii ac'p'ti. Ad hoc M' p'tin' una silva que reddeb' p' ann. c. sol. H' est m° in foresta regis."

Nothing is here about a church, but there is a priest; it is clear, however, that the church existed. It seems formerly to have been part of a monastery, or Saxon secular

college, and the *cubicula* may have served for a number of *catechumena*, or novices; but if this was so it appears to have been entirely at an end by 1083-5, when this record was written. As this subject will be dealt with later in this paper, it is unnecessary to pursue it at this point.

The next entry I find is in Pope Nicholas's taxation—(*circa* 1291)¹—"Decanatus de Rowelle, Ecclesia de Brikleswrthe, £21 : 6 : 8; Vicar ejusdem, £4 : 13 : 4." Again, in the same document,² under the head of the archdeaconry, is entered "Vicar of Briklesworth, £4 : 13 : 4." And again, at fo. 84 B, the rectory was in the "Abbia Be' Marie de p'ts extra Northt' h't in Barthon et Brikelswerth in redd & cur', £4 : 4 : 10."

Thus we have the name of the place spelt three different ways in the same document. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* we first obtain the modern name,³ "Brixworth." The prebendary, Dr. Carne, was untaxed; but the vicar, Edward Sephan, was returned at the sum of £14 : 15 : 8 net, in tenths and oblations. This was exclusive of a chantry of 66s. 4d. net, which in Edw. II's time was returned at 65s. 4d.

Bridges, in his *History of Northampton*⁴ says, that the rectory was given very early, probably soon after the Conquest,⁵ to the church of Salisbury, and the vicarage was then ordained. In 38 of Henry III the profits were of the rectory thirty-two marks, and the vicarage seven marks. He further states, that it has been discharged by Queen Anne's bounty from payment of first fruits and tenths, on account of its income being but £19 : 1 : 9 clear; and that Sir Justin Isham, Baronet, in 1726, augmented the living with a gift of £251. The patron is now the Bishop of Peterborough, under the act 3 and 4 Vic. c. 113; the rectory, or prebend, having ceased on the death of the late Chancellor of Salisbury, and the lands sold to the lessee. The curacy is of the returned value of £300. There are some documents in the Harl. Col. Brit. Mus., chiefly referring to the grants of lands, see 2110, art. 38; and charters of Castle Acre Priory. I do not find the church named.

With the exception of Leland, who quotes Hugo de Petrobургensis, there is literally nothing of its history yet

¹ Fo. 60 B.

² Fo. 67.

³ Vol. iv, p. 306. Edition of 1821.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 82.

⁵ Compare the extract from Pope Nicholas's Taxation, *supra*.

referred to by recent writers. There is still, therefore, much to be done in the way of documentary proofs of age and changes.

The extract from Leland¹ given in the most recent treatise² on this church, is as follows:—“*Saxulphus post suum principale monasterium parturiit et ædificavit suffraganea cænobia Unde factum est ut ex ipso monasterio Medeshamstedensi plura alia, sint condita, et de eadem congregatione monachi et abbates constituti, sicut ad Ancarig, quod modo Thorneia dicitur, et ad Brickelsworth, et ad plura alia.*”

This has been quoted incorrectly both as to the orthography and as to the inference. It is not, perhaps, of much consequence to state, that in the History from which Leland gained his information, the statement is not made. It *does* state that several cells were founded by Sexwulf, and that his successor in the Abbacy of Peterburgh, Cuthbaldus, was desired as Abbot at Brikeleswurthe³ and other monasteries. Sexwulf was made Bishop of the Mercians A.D. 674,⁴ and as the date of the construction of Brixworth is stated in the same paper to be 700, the writer places it after Sexwulf's abbacy, though giving him as the builder, for he ceased to be abbot in 673 or 4.⁵ It is very likely to have been founded and built as a secular college or monastery in the time of Sexwulf, as it was a cell to, and dependent on, Peterborough, circa 690, in Cuthbaldus's abbacy.⁶ It was destroyed by the Danes in 870, and the college (as I understand it) was never restored.⁷ This accords with my statements made on the spot, when ignorant of this part of its history, and will be again referred to.

Let us, however, turn to the building itself, for whatever written evidences there may be yet produced, we must mainly draw our history from the remaining walls, the documents being as lamps to light us in our examination.

We cannot approach this branch of the subject without an involuntary reference to the numerous Christian basilicas

¹ Leland, *Coll.*, fos. 2-3.

² Reports Archit. Socy. Northamp. 1860, p. 126.

³ *Hugo Candidus*, pp. 4-8.

⁴ Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, book iv, ch. 6.

⁵ *Chron. Lichfeldensis*. *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* says A.D. 675. Those who wish to see further as to these disputed dates, will find it fully discussed in Gunton, *Hist. Peterborough*, Appendix, p. 234.

⁶ Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, p. 373.

⁷ *Ib.*

in Italy; which, although bearing a general similitude, differ in many respects in their sub-arrangements quite as much as the churches of the thirteenth and later centuries. It is, therefore, almost impossible to point to any one which bears a closer resemblance to this than to its nearer neighbours, and it is highly probable that as much local difference existed then as in Norman and later times, when the works and ornaments in each country bore a distinct character, though generally reconcilable with one another. Of those which have much general similarity of plan, the most noted in this day are S. Mark, Venice; S. Apollinaris, Ravenna; S. Vitalis, Ravenna; S. Clemente, Rome; S. Michele, Pavia; S. Zenone, Verona; S. Miniato, Florence; S. Ambrogio, Milan. These, with the ancient Vatican (destroyed) will assist much to make us comprehend Brixworth Church, though all showing a diversity of details in the plans. D'Agincourt (*Hist. Basilicæ*) gives a complete list of basilicas, in which occurs S. Spirito, Ravenna, third century; S. Chrysostom in Trastevere, Rome, by Constantine; Sta. Agata Magg., Ravenna, 400; the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, 542, with a tower. Perhaps the main points of these and many others may be thus condensed into a summary. The earliest churches have rarely the orientation which afterwards became almost invariably the rule: they nearly all have flat timber ceilings panelled in wood;¹ though many have open roofs, some are vaulted; all have apses. Nearly all have aisles divided from the nave by columns; many of these are of two orders or stories; some have lean-to roofs to the aisles;² some have only the aisles vaulted; all have clerestories, and all have crypts with choirs considerably raised above the level of the naves. They are mostly rectangular, but there are some notable examples of departure from that form. S. Vitale at Ravenna and S. Marco at Venice being the most remarkable. There are other peculiarities, such as the arched divisions or screens extending to two-thirds of the height across the church at S. Nicolo Bari, thus dividing the part below the clerestory windows into four portions longitudinally. I mention this because of the steps in Brixworth, which will be again referred to.

¹ The basilicas of the Greek school are mostly domed, and have side doors. (Archit. Public. Soc. *Dict.*, art. "Basilica.")

² See Nardini's *Seven Churches in Rome*, p. 37 et seq.; also Ciampini, p. 27 et seq.; also H. Gally Knight's *Eccles. Arch., Italy*, vol. i, pp. 2-4.

The plan of Brixworth Church is purely Basilican,¹ and in accordance with the rules given by Vitruvius,² that the width should be from one-half to one-third of the length. Taking it as it now stands, without any suggestion as to its former sub-division, we have a nave of two squares and a choir of one square; but although it accords with that class of structures in this respect, and in the absence of side doors, yet it is Christian in all other particulars, and corresponds with many continental examples. It may be taken as a rule that the ROMAN basilicas had flat ceilings, and entrances only at one end; this was continued in the ecclesiastical basilica, and if undivided would seem to have been the case at Brixworth. There has been much controversy on the subject of the plan of the original church, and it is without doubt a question as difficult as it is interesting; and in some particulars impossible to be answered. It is open to several suggestions, some of which have already been made, but others do not appear to have occurred to those who have written on the subject. I desire to present it in all lights.

We may, then, in the first place, consider it as undivided into aisles, and in that view the original plan would be a nave sixty feet by thirty feet, with walls three feet nine inches thick, and having cells on each side appropriated either as oratories or chapels (*cubicula*), or as lodgings called "*catechumena*," the rooms for the catechumen or neophytes. Recent excavations have shown that these *cubicula* were five on each side exclusive of those on each side of the tower. From west to east the nave had a series of three steps, namely, one at each pier; the arches and piers rising in a similar manner. I do not recollect any instance of this ascent in other basilicas, and although in many mediæval churches there is an ascent, I am not aware of the corresponding rise in the springing of the arcades—if such is the case it has not been ascertained. It is also curious, and evidently part of the design, that as the piers diminish in height the arches also lessen in opening.

At the east end of the nave was an arched screen³ of three

¹ Moroni supposes the term "basilica" to be used in the fourth and fifth centuries for a church dedicated to a saint, in opposition to "*ecclesia*" used to denote a cathedral. Ducange applies it to a monastic church.

² Book v, cap. i.

³ In all these descriptions it must be understood that I am drawing my own conclusions from personal observation.

openings, somewhat similar to that which exists at the chancel,¹ the central arch of which was called the triumphal arch,² with the lower part solid, so as to form the enclosing wall of the crypt.

Dealing with the lower part first, we should have in the centre³ a flight of steps down some five feet to the crypt. Here under the high altar (in the apse) would be the shrine, tomb,⁴ or relic. The crypt had an apsidal termination, "martyrium" or "confessionary,"⁵ with the ambulatory⁶ round it; not communicating with the apse of the crypt, but having openings through which the shrine might be viewed.

The part of this ambulatory which now exists is so remarkably conclusive as to leave no choice of opinions as to its form—the portion visible is about one third of the entire outer wall, and it has a recess which all early ambulatories had. I may point to the church of SS. Ambrose and Charles,⁷ via Lata Rome; the church of the Holy Sepulchre;⁸ S. Etienne Cahors,⁹ to show the nature of the resemblance. It appears to have been at a lower level than the main crypt, if the steps at the north-east corner and archway (which is certainly much later though it may have occupied the place of a previous doorway) can be taken as proof. It would thus seem to have been distinct from the "confessionary" only, and the crypt under the choir to have been an undivided space, unless there were any arcade above which required a base. Judging from the "perpendicular" doorway, this ambulatory and crypt were in use down to the fifteenth century. Whatever may have been the arrangement at the time of the foundation (and I think the apse was narrower), I consider that in its later form this ambulatory was, as I shall presently show, surmounted by another. The recesses in this lower passage, though projecting beyond the

¹ I understood the Rev. C. F. Watkins to say in his remarks, on the occasion of the visit of the Association, that he had, on excavating for a burial, discovered foundations confirming this.

² Prof. Willis, *Cant. Cathed.*, et alia.

³ Fleury, *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, p. 112.

⁴ "L'Autel placé autant qu'il étoit possible sur la sepulture de quelque martyr."—Fleury, *Mœurs des Chrétiens*, p. 112. *Archit. Dict.*, p. 37.

⁵ Fleury. "Ce sont ces MEMOIRES ou CONFESSIONS."

⁶ Professor Willis, *Cant. Cathedral*, p. 26, refers to this ambulatory as proof of the former existence of one at Canterbury.

⁷ *Collect. Plates*, Br. Mus., fo. 34.

⁸ *Eglise de la Terre Sainte*. Comte de Voqué.

⁹ *Archit. Dict.* Plate, "Church Plans."

line of wall, were thrown out more for light than for altars, though the latter would not be precluded. There are no appearances, I believe, of a former opening in the exposed part of the wall of the "confessionary," but a further excavation would probably show one at least at the east end; usually there was a small opening, frequently grated, opposite each outer window.

Perhaps the doorway at the north-east corner (plate 21, fig. 3) would lead to the conclusion that the descent from the nave to the crypt was at the side. There are many instances of steps either at the side or returning under the ambo. S. Denis, Paris; S. Apollinara Nuovo, Ravenna, are examples; but I think the narrowness of the central arch would preclude the possibility of both the ambo and stairs up to the choir being in the middle, and there would not be height enough for return steps under the central flight. I have, therefore, considered that the descent must have been from the middle of the nave.¹ The arch of a former doorway in the north wall, which opened into the crypt (see plate 21, fig. 1), shows that there was not much difference in the levels of the nave and the crypt, for it nearly corresponds with the archway in the tower at the west end; the rise in the set-off over the same doorway is about five feet, and probably corresponded with the elevation of the choir² floor; the crypt may therefore have descended four or five feet, and steps at the side would have interfered with the doorway. The placing of the ambo or pulpit in the front of the choir, was, however, indispensable, in order that the congregation in the nave might hear; and unless where there was great width of nave, and the pulpit could be on one side, there would not be width for the stairs up from the nave. Taking all circumstances into consideration, I incline to the view I have given above. I may perhaps, with propriety, mention here, that in the crypt of York Minster the steps from the nave are in the middle, and it is nearly certain that the few steps now remaining of the Norman æra, are on the same spot as their Saxon predecessors.

Access to the choir, then, would be gained by flights of steps

¹ See Ciampini, pl. 4 and pl. 7, for similar arrangements at St. Peter, and St. John, Rome.

² The crown of the arch of the crypt ambulatory is three feet six inches above the present floor of the nave. Allowing one foot six inches for the arch, it would give five feet rise for the choir.



E. Roberts, F.S.A. del.

J.R. Jobbins.

INTERIOR OF BRIXWORTH CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



ALL SAINTS CHURCH, BRIXWORTH,
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Fig. 1.

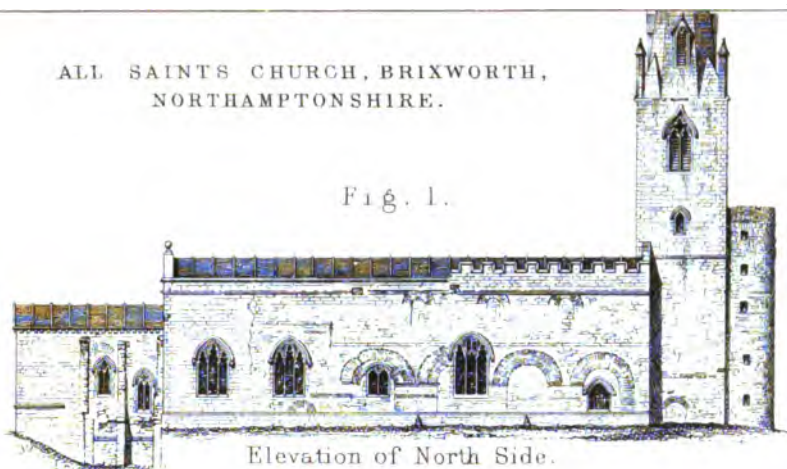
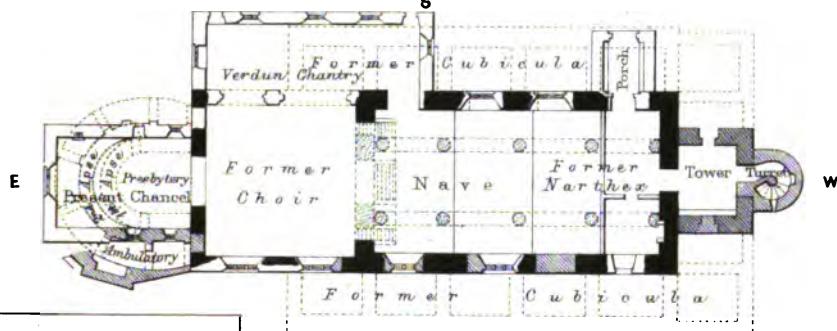


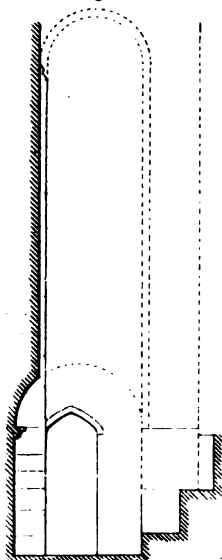
Fig. 2.

N
Plan

Scale 40 Feet to an Inch

- First Saxon
- Second D^o
- Third D^o
- Medieval
- ▨ Conjectural First Saxon

Fig. 3.



Section through Ambulatories.

Fig. 4.



Enlarged Elevation from A to A. Fig. 1.

Scale 10 Feet to an Inch.

from the nave, through arches at the side of the screen before referred to—the remains of the original springing of an arch in the pier on the north side exactly correspond with the lines of this triple-arched screen. This choir, if undivided by arcades, was a square of thirty feet, with an apsidal presbytery extending on the east, and an ambulatory outside it. There may be conjectures as to the form in which the choir was fitted; it may be sufficient to name the most probable, namely, that there was a dwarf enclosure of a space down the middle, ending at the western end with an ornamental stone pulpit extending perhaps slightly into the nave under the centre arch, and terminating eastward in the high altar surmounted by a canopy, the presbytery beyond being filled with seats or stalls for the dignitaries of the church. On each side of the choir was, I think, another chamber, used as a treasury or oratory, the foundations uncovered extend as far as this, and the marks and outlines of the building induces the belief that there was an additional story at this part, and these upper chambers would be likely to be used, one as a chapel and one as a sacristy,¹ with windows at the east end.

Outside the presbytery or apse was the upper ambulatory before named; both this and the lower one were vaulted, but in a different manner, and I look upon them as of different ages; the lower one has plain rubble continuous vaulting springing from a tile impost, the upper one has piers from which sprang plain sub-ribs,² the vaulting being in the usual filling-in form. (See plate 21, fig. 3.) The whole of this ambulatory has been destroyed, with the exception of a small portion of the inner wall and three portions of piers, these latter have, singularly enough, been always taken for buttresses, even by persons of experience, without reflecting that the statement involved a contradiction perfectly irreconcilable, for buttresses did not make their appearance until late in the Norman period, and yet this was given out to be very many centuries earlier. I think I have given the only consistent explanation the subject admits of.³ In the wall

¹ Fleury. "Près de la Basilique en dehors étoient d'ordinaire deux bâtimens. Le Bâtistère à l'entrée : au fond, la Sacristie ou le trésor, nommé aussi *Secretarium* ou *Diaconicum*."

² The church of St. John Lateran, Rome, has a very similar ambulatory, though angular instead of curved.

³ Rickman, alone in consistency, calls the apse Norman.

of the apse, namely, the inner wall of this circumscribing passage, is the arch of a window, from which we may infer that there were three windows, corresponding in number and position with those described as in the "confessionary," with outer windows opposite. The level of this window to some extent defines the height of the floor above the nave; it may be presumed to have been about six feet.

In the second place, let us look at the probabilities of some other internal system having prevailed, in order that we may have as much material as possible to enable us to come to a conclusion. It is not impossible that, in addition to the "cubicula," which have invariably been miscalled "aisles," for in no sense were they ever so, there were aisles formed by means of columns—this mode of sub-division would explain some points otherwise inexplicable, and although it is by no means rare for basilicas to be built only with nave and oratories,¹ or recesses, yet the prevailing and favourite plan was to divide the space into nave and aisles, and the oratories or cubicula outside, such as S. Ambrogio at Milan; S. Petronio, Bologna; SS. Ambrosio e Carlo, Rome; La Madonna del Popolo, and others. It accords, also, with Fleury's description of a basilica: "*Souvent le long de l'église il y avoit des chambres ou cellules, pour le commodité de ceux qui vouloient mediter & prier en particulier, nous les appellerions des chapelles. La Basilique étoit partagée en trois, par deux rangs de colonnes, qui soutenoient des galeries des deux cotés & dont le milieu étoit la nef, comme nous voyons à toutes les anciennes églises.*"² If this were the case here we should have a nave of four bays and about seventeen or eighteen feet wide, and aisles a little more than six feet wide. I have indicated this and other suggestions by a lighter shade in the plan. (See plate 21, fig. 2.) The height and size of these columns would suffice for the intercolumniation, and the ledge or set-off would be the level of the, almost necessary, gallery, the germ of the triforium. If Professor Willis is right in stating that the present clerestory has been added³ (and I understand him to mean that there were no windows here before), it would give an addi-

¹ Albi Cathedral, Languedoc, has a vaulted nave, fifty feet span, and cubicula with arched openings, and east apse. St. Etienne, Cahors, has a plan resembling Brixworth if without aisles; also the church of the Jacobins, Toulouse.

² Mœurs des Chrétiens, p. 112.

³ Canterbury Cathedral, p. 30.

tional argument in favour of this view, for, on the destruction of the columnar arrangement and clerestory over it, it would become necessary to gain light from a new clerestory over the outer wall, if there were none before, a high light in that age having appeared to be desirable.

It appears a certainty that some alteration or raising of the heights has occurred, for at the west end (see plate 20) a second opening, now communicating with the first floor of the tower, has been inserted at a higher level than the former window, the arch of which has been infringed on. I am not, however, prepared to admit that the clerestory has been added from any appearance it presents now; the set-offs correspond with a gallery floor on the inside, and a lean-to roof on the outside, and the great strength of the walls and the double tier of arch bricks could scarcely have been given for the purpose of supporting less than one foot of wall unless it were vaulted, and if we admit the question of vaulting, we must fall back on the aisle arrangement so as to form a triple vault, and the lines and marks inside in some respects correspond with such vaults. Without a vault and without a clerestory the nave would present a chamber sixty feet long, thirty feet wide, and but eighteen or nineteen feet high, which would be less elegant and imposing than we can suppose would be the case, and out of all proportion. An insurmountable difficulty presents itself in the supposition that there was no clerestory, for in that case it would have to be shown how so large a space could be lighted. It is quite out of the question to suppose that the nave (if undivided) would be lighted only by windows in the oratories, for even if they were large the light would be much intercepted whether the chambers were used as chapels or lodgings, and a clerestory light would therefore be inevitable. I consider, therefore, that there was a clerestory over the columns and galleries, and side lights in what is now called the clerestory to light the galleries. We have on the other hand the certainty that it was loftier, for both the chancel arch and the old arch at the west end, as well as the evidences of the choir screen, are in favour of a height of twenty-five feet at least. If it were decided that the plan was with aisles we should get rid of many difficulties. The walls above the set-offs would then belong to the galleries, and the few windows would be for light to the

latter; this is something of the arrangement of the chapel in the White Tower, London.

Beyond the nave, in this supposed arrangement, the choir would be as before described; but it would, in this case, be in the nature of a transeptal choir not divided by columns, such as was seen in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;¹ the original S. Peter's at Rome;² S. John Lateran, Rome;³ SS. Amb. and Carlo., Rome,⁴ and others.⁵

On the whole I must confess to thinking this was most probably the original design, and in this view the building would have comprised a narthex at the west end at one of the steps of the nave, with probably a screen across as at Bari,⁶ and a porch westward with a small arch into the narthex; a nave with aisles for the novices, with lodgings or oratories at the sides; galleries for the women; a choir for the services; a crypt and ambulatories. It may be objected that the walls show no signs of the abutments of any divisional walls or piers, or of staircases; but I do not think there is any reason for assuming such marks would remain for a thousand years and survive the repeated plasterings and repairings inside and out; in other parts, such as the abutments of the cross walls of the cubicular against the main walls, the obliteration is complete, and it is not unreasonable to assume that in other parts it may have been equally effaced. The staircases would, as was customary, be on the outside of the building, and on their removal the marks would be easily effaced. The late Norman porch on the south side has been constantly mentioned as showing the time at which the access by the west door was interrupted. This is by no means conclusive; and, indeed, the remains of Norman (early and late) doorways seem to show a remarkable aptitude in those days to build elaborate and perhaps symbolical entrances, and in the positions marked as appropriate in the later ages of the early æra of Catholicism. A separate baptistery must clearly have formed part of the early secular college, for the purpose of admitting the neophytes when properly prepared—afterwards, on the destruction of that appendage, a font would become necessary in the church, and a south

¹ See plan in Melchior's *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*.

² See plan in Ciampini's *De Sacris Edificiis*, etc.

³ See plan in Eustace's *Classical Tour*, i, 395.

⁴ Coll. Plates on Seven Patriarchal Churches, Brit. Mus.

⁵ "Church Plans." Archit. Dict.

⁶ See p. 289 *ante*.

entrance, apart from the convenience of such an entrance to the church itself, and the invariable practice of the Normans to place a door in that position, would become indispensable to the font which was directed to be placed near the south door. I do not look on this doorway as marking any period of change in the church beyond its own advent. In Baker's *History of Northamptonshire* (which has no mention of Brixworth) there are plates showing that similar doors were erected at many churches in the neighbourhood at about the same period, and doubtless the workmen travelled all through and exercised their powers over this amongst others; most of the doorways in the county being of the same date as this, and probably much repair occurred at the same time, amounting to a "restoration."

Following now a possible and consecutive order of variations and changes, let us consider what causes and results were likely to affect the structure.

I will assume that it is proved, as nearly perhaps as can be, that the foundation of Brixworth must have been about the year 670, and that Medeshamstead, to which it was subject, supplied the abbots¹—it was then a secular monastery, and with every possibility of there being large buildings for the monks and novices. The church was at that time, probably, in the form which I have indicated. Of the other buildings there is no vestige, but excavations would be likely to show their direction and extent, and other researches would show more clearly whether any parts of foundations in and about the church would confirm my surmises. The walling is constructed of rubble and boulder, and the arches are formed of Roman bricks, taken evidently from the ruinous adjacent station. This will be treated of under a separate head.

This state of affairs, so far as we know, continued down to the year 870, a period of two centuries, when an incursion of the Danes caused the destruction of the buildings.² It is stated that they were never restored,³ and this, we see, was applied to the convent, for we have ocular demonstration of its want of accuracy as regards the church. It is some slight evidence, therefore, of the use of the *cubicula*

¹ See pp. 287, 288, *ante*.

² Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, p. 373.

³ *Ib.* It is further stated that the site was not known, but suggests that "Bricleswurthe" may be Brixworth. There is no doubt whatever that the places are identical. *Vide* 3 and 4 Vict., cap. 113.

as part of the college, when we find them destroyed with the remainder of the monastery. I always feel great doubts about the accuracy of many of the statements as to Danish destructions, but in this instance some ravages occurred to demolish part of this church, and the statement may be accepted with greater probability of truth than usual.

At some time after this destruction, but still within the SAXON period, a partial restoration seems to have taken place. It is not easy to distinguish, from the masonry or walling, except as to the staircase turret, which parts are of these different periods, the filling in of the arches being scarcely distinguishable from the main walling. It is likely that repeated repairs have caused much similarity in parts, but the fact still appears that the mode of construction was similar. In this restoration we have most likely the church in its second form, namely, with nave and aisles; a tower instead of the narthex; a crypt; a choir; and a larger apse on the upper story, the lower ambulatory remaining as before, but the ambulatory encroached on at the level of the choir; (see plate 21, fig. 3,) the wall now overhangs some fifteen inches, and the east windows of the choir on each side of the apse which either opened into the ambulatory, or, which is more likely, were inserted at the second period, are partly concealed by the present apsidal abutments. The two openings at the east end present different appearances, so that by no argument can they be shown to be coeval. My reason for concluding that if ever the aisle arcade existed, it was not destroyed at this time, is that the date of the erection of the stair-turret at the extreme west end, marks the period of the destruction of other means of access to the upper part of the building. It is quite clear that the tower, though it might have been built on earlier foundations with the early side doors therein, was added to the church,¹ the straight joints (*i.e.*, the *absence* of bonding or tying in of the tower into the church walls), which are evident to the experienced eye, show that the walls were not

¹ This has been fully confirmed by further researches and examination by the Rev. C. F. Watkins, the Vicar, though denied by him at the time of our visit. By some inadvertence a statement appeared in the *Journal* (p. 223, *ante*), that I agreed with the reverend gentleman that the porch was not later. I never entertained any other opinion than that expressed in the text, and I always combated his idea of its being Roman; and when the same statement appeared in the Northampton newspapers, I immediately contradicted it.

built at the same time. It has not been ascertained whether a second destruction took place. Perhaps a rigid search into the earlier manuscripts of Mercia and Peterborough might bring to light some historic indications of a siege and capture, or of a desertion and destruction. But it appears that at some time later—probably about a century, for the differences are very distinct—another change occurred. The nave and aisles became merged, the staircases were destroyed, and a new staircase at the west end was added with openings into the several stages of the square tower, the first stage being converted to another purpose than that of previous times, and a triple opening inserted with the peculiar kind of baluster shafts which are supposed to be indicative of the SAXON period. Without subscribing to this theory, for there are certainly very similar shafts and other kinds of work with a strong affinity to the baluster, as witness that remarkable church of St. Peter, Northampton, it may be admitted that it requires some proof in each case to show that they are not Saxon before we dismiss them from the ante-Norman list. I think it would be very difficult to show that any of these baluster shafts are earlier than the middle of the tenth century. In this case I think the evidences are positively against its being before 870-5, and I have no doubt that a considerable period elapsed after that time before this was inserted. Another observation deserves attention; it is that of the absence of the presumed test of Saxon walling, herring-bone masonry. If this church is to be of any chronological value, we must, in attempting to determine the several dates of its erection and alteration, also throw some light on the systems of construction at those dates. It is conclusive, I consider, that as regards the seventh century, the practice was to build of rubble without herring-bone bond, and without coign stones. I am equally convinced that the tower of the ninth century, bears the same character of work, there being neither coign stones nor herring-bone bond. And it is not until the time of the addition of the turret that the latter feature presents itself; its circular plan precluding coigns; and as all progresses were gradual, and the evidence is strong that it was not the custom to herring-bone in 870 to 880, or thereabouts, I carry it over to the tenth century. I think, therefore, we may draw the inference, that herring-bone work

marks the period from, perhaps, the beginning of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh.

Of later changes it is only necessary to mention that a south aisle was added in the fourteenth century, and an arcade inserted in the side wall so as to open into it. This was built as a "Verdun" chantry,¹ and the monument of Sir John Verdun, it is said, remains in a recess within the chantry. This is a mailed figure full length and cross-legged, as I conclude, from its being always called a "Knight Templar". The two arches and their piers forming the arcade, appear to be of two dates, and to be earlier than the chantry by nearly a century. The arcade would correspond with the time given as the founding of the chantry. A spire and tower now surmount the substantial base of the Saxon tower; this was built at about the same time as the chantry, namely, towards the end of the fourteenth century, Henry III. Many windows were also then inserted in the side walls, cutting indiscriminately through wall and arch of Saxon workmanship (see plate 21, fig. 4.) but adding much in its ruthlessness to the picturesqueness of the building, and leading us to think of the invariable practice, amongst restorers, of considering nothing but their own immediate and perhaps selfish purposes.

A chancel, in which is a piscina, has, in still later times, supplied the place of the former apse, and the modern pews are there to attest to the want of feeling and taste of the last century. The corbels in the walls are also of the fourteenth century, and were for a hammerbeam roof, all traces of which are lost. The chantry, however, has, in the modern roof, some pieces of a very tolerable roof of about that date, with some colour yet visible. Another change was probably made at this time; the choir was lowered and the triumphal arch and screen removed, and a large arch was thrown across *circa* 1400. There have been some minor alterations of windows, etc., not worth detailing here, but bearing strongly on the question of a clerestory in the original structure.

It is now necessary to give a more minute description of the present state of the edifice and its construction. As before stated the greater part of the walling is composed of

¹ See Bridges, *Hist. Northamp.*, ii, p. 81, for some account of the Verduns.

rubble formed of boulders, with some freestone. The staircase turret is circular internally and semi-circular externally, with the sides continued to the main wall so as to make a rectangular abutment. All the plans I have seen, from Britton's to the Rev. Mr. Poole's, and even in the latest edition of Rickman's (1862), show this turret as circular inside and out.¹ The newel is of random-work and two feet in diameter, the stairs are three feet two inches wide, and the walls two feet five inches thick—the vault which carries the steps is continuous and semi-circular in section; the whole structure is of random stonework, and some plaster remains on the walls and vault. This turret was loftier, and it was not unlikely to have been used for a beacon, and seems to have been designed for a considerable number of persons to ascend at a time. It gives access to the tower, part of which has been cut away in order to bond in parts of the turret in forming the doorways. Externally there are four tiers of herring-bone courses at irregular distances, the lowest being twenty feet from the ground. It may be that the courses were more numerous, for there are some small portions interspersed, and they may have been concealed by repairs. The drawing, fig. 1, plate 21, indicates these courses. There are no bricks in this turret, though there are brick arches in the junctions with the tower, but they belong to the age of the tower and not of the turret.

The tower appears to be intermediate in age between the church and the turret. No part of the masonry seems to correspond with the other parts except the doorways with brick (Roman) arches, and the first light on the south side which corresponds with the north windows of the apse.

Much allowance must be made for repairings on the exterior. Internally there is a large west arch of brick, and small south and north arches; an arch of an intermediate size opened into the nave. On the upper stages are similar brick arches which existed prior to the erection of the turret, and were windows, now used as doors. From the ringing chamber the original Saxon doorway (window) remains, the decorated work being built over and about it. The spire is broached, and some of the old framing for the bells remains in its place, just below the broaches. The bells are all of

¹ This differs from the round towers of the east of England, which are quite a circle with a church appended to them.

the seventeenth century, and are now hung at the sills of the tower windows.

The majority of the Roman-brick arches in the church, are, by the removal of the plaster, now exposed to view on both faces; their peculiar construction has been noticed by several writers. They are formed of two rings of bricks, irregularly placed,—not radiating with any approach to truth, being mostly inclined at a greater angle than the radii, and are otherwise uneven, as we see in similar arches in S. Nicholas Church, Leicester, and the Jewry wall—this I have already pointed out;¹ over each ring is a flat course, or rather a course laid at right angles to the radius and following the arch. (See plate 21, fig. 4.) This, however, does not seem to have been invariably the case, although it applies to most of the arches in the church, and to the clerestory, but not to the apse or tower, except to the south door of the latter. It also applies to the chancel arches and the remnant of the choir screen, but not to the arches over the baluster window. All the large arches have a brick abacus, as has also the ambulatory to the crypt a continuous brick abacus for the vaulting; the triple window also has an abacus to each baluster. It may be here observed that the clerestory windows are over each pier instead of over the arches. This has been commented on as singular, but needlessly, for it is not by any means uncommon in basilican, as well as later churches, and rather leads to the inference that this part was not an addition, but was part of the original design, and sets at rest the question of the choir screen (which the Rev. G. A. Poole altogether omits), for no window occurs there, and the remainder is divided into three bays, each with a window, the arches of which have been diminished by the modern parapet.

An oak screen of the fifteenth century occupies a place it was not made for, and it has some colour in its lower part, but it is not of mediæval date.

The apse is of seven bays, five being curved: in three bays, if we may judge from the one remaining evidence, were openings by which light and view were allowed, the windows in three of the bays of the ambulatory corresponding. This apse has been repeatedly described as multangular externally, and curved within.

¹ *Ante*, p. 247.

Besides that reputed to be of Sir John de Verdun, before mentioned, there are but two monuments which fall within our province to notice—these are two slabs with inscriptions in Norman-French. As these have been continually given, with errors, it is desirable to complete this account by giving correct readings. First in order of date is that of Simon Curteis:

SIMON . CVRTEIS . KE . FIST . CESTE . CLE¹ . GIT² . ISSI .
 E . CESTE . CHAPELE . MOVT . HONVRA . AVXCI³ .
 LAN . DE . GRACE . M . CCC . VYNT . HVT⁴ . LE . XVI .
 IOVR . DE . AVST . MORVT .
 KY . PVR . SA . ALME . PRIERA . C.E⁵ . XL . IORVS⁶ . DE .
 PARDOVN . AVERA .

This is an inscription in four lines, beside a cross fleury. It is figured very fairly by Brayley in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*,⁷ but he attempts to correct the errors of Bridges and falls into greater in doing so—these errors are pointed out in the notes. The following, in more modern French, appears to be, in rough rhyming, as was usual, the correct reading.

*Simon Curteis qui fit cette cle⁸ git ici,
 Et cette chapele moult⁹ honura aussi,
 L'an de grace mille, trois cent, vingt huit,
 Le sixieme jour de Aout morut;
 Qui pour sa alme priera
 Cent¹⁰ et quarante jours de pardon aura.*

The "hundred", and the "forty" days of pardon appear to be wholly distinct, coupled with "and", and are apparently for the two separate works referred to in the memorial. Bridges says,¹¹ "In 18 Edw. II Simon Curteys obtained a license, by a fine of twenty marks, to settle in mortmain a lay fee on two capellans in Brukesworth." . . . "This appears for the support of a chantry afterwards founded by William Curteys, his son, 5 Edw. III". . . . "This chantry was in a chapel covered with lead in the churchyard". The inference from this is that the slab has been brought from some other adjacent building.

¹ "ELE". Bridges, *Hist. Northants*, ii, 88; and Brayley, *Gent. Mag.*, 80, 321.

² "LIT". Ib. ³ "AVXOI". Brayley.

⁴ "OE". Ib. "OC". Bridges.

⁵ "AWYT". Ib.

⁶ Sic.

⁷ lxxx, p. 321.

⁸ Cle means probably *église* (eccle.).

⁹ *Mout* is from *moult* (molto), much. There is no modern equivalent.

¹⁰ Bridges renders this "two hundred." Brayley, *ce*, "these."

¹¹ Vol. ii, p. 84.

The other memorial is given more correctly by Brayley in the same place with the preceding. It is, "HIC. JACENT. ADAM. DE. TAUNTONE. Q'NDAM. ISTIUS. ECCLE. VICARIUS. Q. OBIIT. XII. K^L. AP^L. ANNO. G'CIE^L. M. CCC. XXXIII. ORATE". This is round the margin of a slab on which was a curious brass stem resting on an animal, apparently a dog, and surmounted with the head and bust of a man. Adam de Tauntone was instituted April 1322, and his successor Nicolas de Rudstan was instituted in 1335.²

Mr. Bridges gives a list of the curates, commencing with the institution of "Adam, chaplain and vicar", in 1239, and terminating with John Lyne in 1706; in all, thirty-three incumbents are given in that time, which I have not had an opportunity of verifying.

I cannot close this notice without referring to some of those who have given information about or have written on this church. Mr. Bloxam, in his treatise on ancient mixed masonry, of brick and stone,³ refers largely to Brixworth as an instructive and leading type of work. Mr. Britton⁴ gives a plan and an account, but he was under the disadvantage of not having seen it after the excavations were made, and he consequently makes some very perceptible errors. He attributes it to the Roman period because of the similarity of the arches to those of the Pharos, and the Jewry wall. The fact that there is no Roman mortar in the construction ought to have struck him at once. I am informed by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne that on the south side a piece of Roman mortar is still visible, adhering to one of the bricks.⁵ I have not seen this myself, but I accept it without hesitation on such good authority; and indeed nothing is more likely to be true. Rickman, however, gives the longest notice,⁶ and a plan, which, though more nearly correct than Britton's, is taken from that plan (as are all others), is still very imperfect and erroneous. He attributes the work to the Saxons and the apse to the Normans. Mr. Parker, however, in the latest edition (1862), confidently states that it is a ROMAN basilica.

The most elaborate writer, the Rev. G. A. Poole, in a paper read before the Lincolnshire Architectural Society in

¹ *Cric*, Bridges. ² Bridges, ii, 82. ³ *Archæological Journal*, i, p. 314.

⁴ *Architect. Antiq.*, v, p. 188.

⁵ See also Mr. Poole's paper, p. 132.

⁶ *Some Attempt to Discriminate*, etc. Edit. 1848, p. 16 *et seq.*, Appendix.

1850,¹ gives several drawings, which are too rough to be of any practical use, and, considering that excavations had at that time been made, they are incomplete. His account, however, is suggestive and interesting, but it will be seen that I differ from him in many particulars. It appears from his paper that he accepted much on credit, and did not seek for original documents, and he extracted two distinct paragraphs from Leland, and conjoined them, thus inevitably coming to an erroneous conclusion. He, however, admits (p. 128), that there were difficulties which he could not overcome in reference to the ancient arrangement of the church. He, as well as all others, subscribe to the "buttress" theory of the apse; Rickman alone having, in consequence, dated it as Norman, though Mr. Poole expresses surprise at his having done so without giving reasons, though he really does assign the reason when he says, "joining the old chancel are parts of two Norman divisions, with small flat buttresses, and such a direction as to make it probable that this Norman chancel was multangular eastward." But the greatest error, arising, I conclude, from the want of a personal examination, is the statement that *herring-bone masonry occurs throughout*; it will be seen that I have already stated that it only occurs in the stair turret, which shows altogether a different class of construction from all other parts of the church, the openings also being square headed. As regards his conclusions at p. 133, it will be seen that I differ almost entirely from them.

There are some minor notices, such as in the *Beauties of England and Wales*;² an article by the Rev. Thomas James in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*;³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*;⁴ Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*; which gives several references, and figures a window and other parts drawn with his usual accuracy and care.⁵ Beyond these there is, I believe, nothing really bearing on the matter, except as a mere curiosity. I do not at all pretend to have exhausted the subject, and I look forward to further elucidation by an extension of the researches both on the spot and in the equally unwrought mines in the public and private libraries and collections in this country.

¹ Reports, 1850, p. 122 *et seq.*

² Vol. xi, p. 172.

³ xviii, p. 381.

⁴ lxxv, p. 625, and lxxx, p. 321.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 175, 383, 408, and plate 224.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 27.

T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Robert Bryce Hay, Esq., of Spelthorne Grove, Sunbury, Middlesex, and William Holgate, Esq., of Penton House, Staines, were elected Associates.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :—

To the Society. *Archæologia Cambrensis.* No. 34. Third Series. April 1863. 8vo.

„ „ *Journal of the Royal Dublin Society.* April 1863. 8vo.

„ „ *Canadian Journal.* March 1863. 8vo.

„ „ *The Anthropological Review.* No. 1. May 1863. 8vo.

„ „ *Proceedings of Kilkenny and S. E. Ireland Archæological Society.* No. 39. Jan. 1863. 8vo.

To the Author. *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain,* by W. Chaffers, F.S.A. London: 1863. 8vo.

„ „ *Coins and Medals Aids to the Study and Verification of Holy Writ,* by S. C. Bragg. Montreal: 1863. 12mo.

„ „ *Address delivered at the Centenary Meeting of the Grand Master's Lodge,* by E. J. Powell. London: 1859. 4to.

To the Publisher. *Gentleman's Magazine.* May 1863. 8vo.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., made the following communication :—

“The pages of our *Journal*, in addition to accounts of various single Roman coins found in the Isle of Wight, have already recorded the discovery of two considerable hoards of Roman coins. One of these collections was found in 1833, at Shanklin, of six hundred brass and six silver coins, chiefly of the reigns of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, inclosed in an urn. The other was discovered, in the same year, in Barton Wood (a spot now belonging to her Majesty), consisting of

nearly a gallon measure of Roman brass coins. In the former of these cases the majority of the coins unfortunately fell into the hands of a broker, by whom they were soon dispersed; in the latter, the coins, from being originally deposited in a box, had become so amalgamated and corroded, that they were unable easily to be separated, and in the attempt to effect this separation by a strong liquid the coins were rendered nearly illegible. Some were, however, rescued for the Newport Museum, and include an Augustus, a Trajan, two of Antoninus Pius, two of Lucius Verus, and two Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius. I have now to record that a large discovery of Roman coins was made in the last week of April, which promises to be more productive of numismatic interest, from its being made at Farringford, the seat of Alfred Tennyson, Esq., who takes a lively interest in their preservation. These coins, to the number of two hundred and fifty, were found in an urn, by Benjamin Cooper, a labourer. Of the urn only a few fragments were preserved. The coins are stated to be of the time of Gallienus; there are several of himself, with different reverses, and one of his wife Salonica. There were several of the two Tetricuses, also of Victorinus, one of Postumus, and many of Claudius Gothicus. They are nearly all copper: a few apparently copper silvered over. Farringford is about a mile west of Freshwater-gate. It may be remarked, that the discovery of this deposit of coins is another proof to those afforded of late years of the extensive occupation of the Isle of Wight by the Romans. The whole line of its south coast, from Shanklin to Freshwater, including Bonchurch, Ventnor, Rew, Stenbury, Niton, Barnes, and Brixton,¹ retain varied traces of their presence. The discovery, within the last four years, of a Roman villa at Carisbrooke, and a Roman cemetery at Newport, have been recorded in the *Journal*."

Mr. Thos. Blashill exhibited a drawing of a pavement recently met with under, or at least very near to, the site of the portico of the late East India House, in Leadenhall Street. It appears to have formed a square of about five feet, set in a floor of common red tesserae, but now much broken. The pattern is very ingenious and beautiful, with a guilloche border around a hexagon, with star in the centre and other ornaments. Beneath it were found various broken portions of plaster, with red, black, and grey stripes, very perfect as to colour. The pavement is now in process of removal to one of the rooms in the building, where it will be seen to advantage.

Mr. Cuming read a paper "On Heraldic Badges," which will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. E. J. Powell presented to the Association a fine rubbing of a brass from the Ratcliff monument in Crosthwait Church, in the ward

¹ See Davenport Adams' *Garden Isle*, p. 229, and *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, viii, 323; xii, 159.

of Allerdale, below Derwent, Cumberland. It has the following inscription :

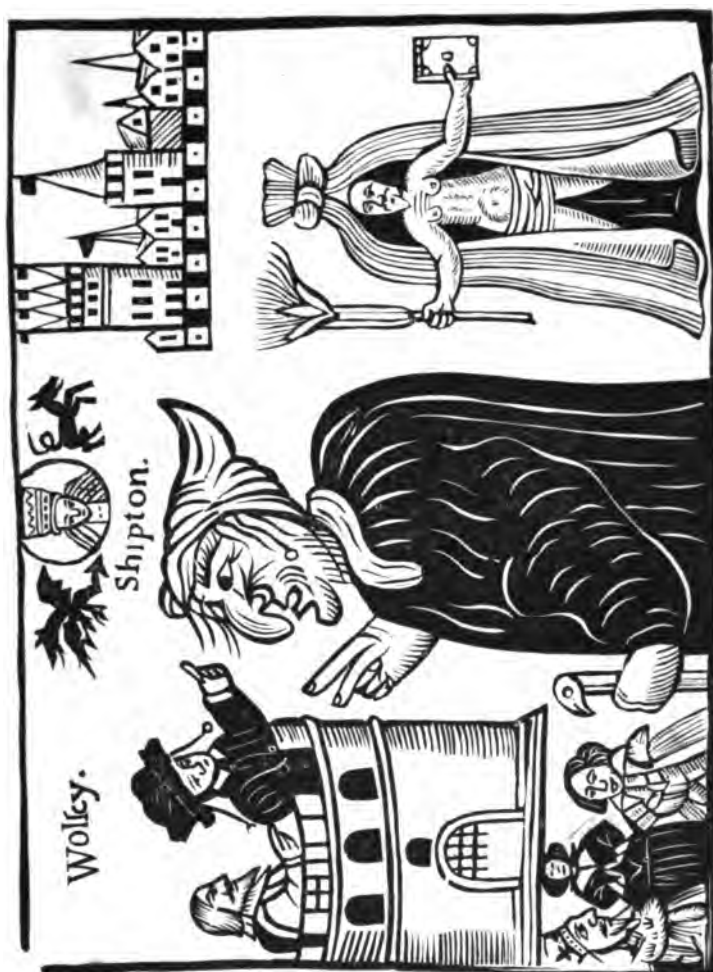
Of po' charite p'g for the soule of S^r John Ratclif Knight
 & for the soule of Dame Alice his wyfe, which S^r John dyed p^e
 ij day of february an' Dn'i m b^e xxiij o' whose soule Th'u have m'ry.

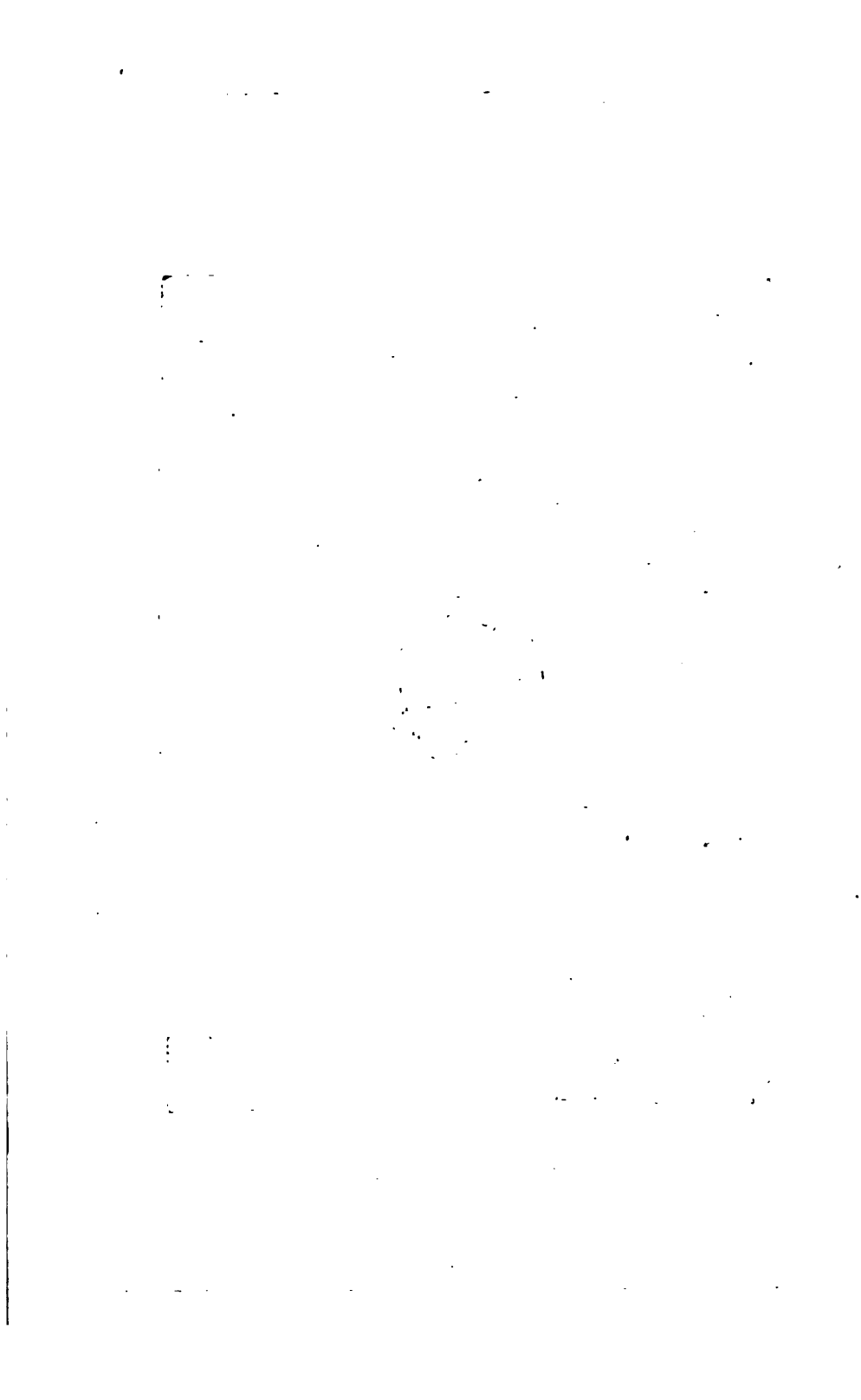
This presentation was accompanied by a pedigree of Derwentwater of Castle Rigg upon Derwent, formed by Mr. Powell upon the authority of Nicholson and Burns's *History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, Lond., 1777, and Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, Carlisle, 1794. It has been referred for consideration at a future opportunity.

Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., presented to the Association a curious engraving, being a copy from a woodcut, the original of which is in one of the rarest editions of the *Prophecies of Mother Shipton*, printed in 1662. The subject of the engraving (see plate 22) refers to the well-known alleged story, found in all the chap-book copies of *Mother Shipton*, of Wolsey being shown York Minster from the top of a tower, and his vow of vengeance against the witch who had prophesied that he should never get there. The earliest piece on the subject that we are acquainted with appeared in the year 1641, under the title of "The Prophecie of Mother Shipton fortelling the Death of Cardinal Wolsey and others, as also what should happen in insuing Times."

Mr. Wright made some remarks on old prophecies and upon those of Mother Shipton. He said it was well known that prophecies in the middle ages were used as political instruments, and that they became abundant in times of great political excitement. Thus they were very numerous in the reign of Richard II, in that of Henry VI, and again in that of Henry VIII, and especially in the latter; and at most of these periods laws were made against them. They were published under feigned names, generally those of some celebrated magicians or witches, and Mother Shipton was one of these, and the older prophecies which go under her name appear to have been published about the reign of Henry VIII, when, according to the popular legend, she is said to have lived. This legend appears to have been published in the seventeenth century.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming thought the curious woodcut offered some points worthy of consideration. Mother Shipton appears holding in her left hand a staff terminating in the head of a bird, bringing to mind the *gom* of the ancient Egyptians, the implement in both instances having a mystic signification. The wand seems to have been regarded as essential to the craft of the magician from the era of the Pharaohs to long subsequent to the time when Shakespeare placed it in the hands of Prospero. But turning from the sceptre of augury to the insignia of





the witch, we have to notice her long loose gown, narrow white neck-band or collar, and strange head-gear like a turban, with high cornuted crown, bending forward somewhat after the manner of the *corno ducale* of the Venetian Doge and bonnet worn by Punchinello. But, though this cap be pointed, it differs essentially from that generally seen on the head of the British prophetess, which has a regular steeple crown and broad brim, as she has been depicted in old tavern signs. In the *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1831, p. 401, is a remarkable ivory carving, which was probably set in the cover of a conjuring box, and on which is displayed Friar Bacon and his brazen head, Dr. Faustus (?), and Mother Shipton, the latter wearing a conical hat, somewhat less elevated than usual, but still of orthodox fashion. And so closely has the *copatain*, or peaked hat, become connected with the fame of the Yorkshire seer, that it is looked upon almost as an attribute of the black art, and may be seen on the head of a sister riding through the air on her besom, in a curious print in a tract entitled, *The Witch of the Woodlands, or the Cobler's New Translation*. Mr. S. Wood exhibits to us a beaver hat of Shipton contour, which may be described in brief as a cone five inches high and six and a half inches diameter at the base, surrounded by a rim four inches and a quarter wide. But to what period, Mr. Cuming asked, are we to ascribe this piece of costume? All the information furnished with it is that it has been in the possession of a Wiltshire family since the days of Charles I, and that it was long preserved at Titchfield House, Southampton. Hats of this description are met with in illuminations of the fifteenth century, though it was not until the sixteenth century that they became common. John Shelton, who died in 1529, speaks in one of his ballads against—

“So many pointed caps
Laced with double flaps.”

The copatain is further alluded to by John Heywood, in his *Parable of the Spider and the Fly*, 1556:

“To weare Powles steeple for a Turkey hat.”

And Stubbes, in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, describing the hats of his day, says: “Sometimes they use them sharpe on the croune, pearking upp like the spere or shaft of a steeple, standyng a quarter of a yard above the croune of their heade, some more, some lesse, as please the fantasies of their inconstant minds.” And he goes on to tell us that some hats were made “of a certain kind of fine haire; these they call bever hattes, of xx, xxx, or xl shillinges price, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities doe come besides.” This, however, was not the first time that English brows were shaded with such foreign vanities, for Chaucer’s merchant wore a “*Flaundrish beaver*

hat." And costly as Stubbes considers the price, a few succeeding years made it still higher, for a female's hat is thus mentioned in Ben Jonson's play of *The Magnetick Lady* (act v): "You shall have a new, brave, *four pound beaver hat*, set with enamel'd studs, as mine is here." Soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, the copatain grew out of favour with the London gentry, hence Madame Isabella, in Dryden's play of *The Wild Gallant* (act iii) calls the tailor's wife in contempt "*Steeple hat.*" And Ned Ward, writing in the reign of Queen Anne, puts the following into the mouth of a fine lady when addressing her husband—

"I verily believe you 'd have me go
In high-crown'd hat and coif, like Gammer Crow."

Though the city discarded the "Mother Shipton hat," it still held its place on the heads of the country dames and lasses; and when, in the reign of George I, the *bon ton* affected a rural simplicity in attire, the broad-brimmed peaked hat once more came into fashion, and during the reign of George II was worn by all ranks of society, and is rendered familiar to us by the works of Hogarth and Hayman. But, in spite of our thus having proof that the copatain occurs as late as the first half of the eighteenth century, Mr. Cuming doubted not that the specimen produced by Mr. Wood belonged to a much earlier period, and may possibly be an example of one of those costly *beavers* so heavily denounced by the indignant Stubbes.

JUNE 10.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thos. Dod Keighley, Esq., of 16, Hereford-square, and J. B. Green-shields, Esq., of Kerse, Lesmahago, Lanarkshire, were elected associates.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Royal Society for their Proceedings. No. 55. Lond., 1863. 8vo.

To the Architectural Museum. The Condition and Prospects of Architectural Art. By A. J. B. Beresford Hope, President. Lond., 1863. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for June 1863. 8vo.

To Mons. Boucher des Perthes. Quatrefages sur la Mâchoire découverte par M. Boucher des Perthes dans le Diluvium d'Abbeville. Paris, 1863. 4to.

„ „ Quatrefages, Observations sur la Mâchoire de Moulin-Quignon. Ib. Ib.

„ „ Milne-Edwards sur les Résultats fournis par une Enquête relative à l'Authenticité de la Découverte d'une Mâchoire humaine et de Haches en Silex, dans le Terrain diluvien de Moulin-Quignon. Ib. Ib.

Mr. Roberts, F.S.A., exhibited a German jug, of the sixteenth century (belonging to Mrs. Crispin of Sneed Park), made of stoneware covered with a rich brown glaze. It is ten inches high, the neck annulated, the shoulder stamped with seventeen bands of lozenges, and the drum with a broad *fascia*, bearing in relief scenes from the history of Susanna and the Elders, and inscribed beneath with the following legend, IT . IS . DIE . SCHONE . HEISTORIA . VAN . SVISANNA . INT . KORTE . EIT . GESCHNEIDEN . 1584 . E . P . E . K . In the Soulages Collection is a large *cruche* decorated with the story of Susanna, dated 1584, and signed ENGEL KRAN; this potter being possibly a member of the same family as the famous Lucas Kranach. Scripture subjects are not unfrequently seen on the vessels of both Germany and Flanders. Among the stoneware jugs in the Bernal Collection was one with Samson and Delilah, and another with Dives, Lot and his daughters, and Abraham and the angels.

Mr. Robert Lang, of Bristol, exhibited a pint bottle of white delft ware, about seven inches high, with a loop-handle at back, and the front inscribed, in blue, SACK . 1645, with a flourish beneath. There was a similar vessel at Strawberry Hill, which is thus described by Walpole in his *Own Catalogue*, p. 8: "An earthen bottle, painted on it '*sack*, 1647.' It was thus sold by apothecaries. From the collection of Mrs. Kennon, the virtuoso midwife." Another example, found at Tabley Hall, Cheshire, is in the possession of the Hon. Robert Curzon. It is inscribed, SACK, 1659. "If sack and sugar be a fault, Heaven help the wicked." (*Henry IV*, Pt. I, act ii, sc. 4.)

The origin of the name *sack* is much disputed. Skinner, following Mandesto, derives it from Xequé, a city of Morocco; others say it is from the French *sec*, *seche* (dry); but neither of these etymologies is satisfactory. Sherry is believed to be the modern representative of one kind of ancient sack; for there seem to have been different sorts of wine going under this title, as we read not only of *sack*, but of *sherry sack*, and *sweet* or *canary sack*. Indeed, it is stated that the name was applied to all the white wines imported from Spain. The late Mr. C. Croker had a bottle of the same form and substance as those described above, on the front of which is the word WHIT, 1649: no doubt indicating the colour of the liquor it contained; but which, by a violent effort of imagination, has been made to refer to the Whitsun ale customs. We learn from Shakespeare's play of *Henry IV* (Pt. I, act iv, sc. 2) that two gallons of sack cost 5s. 8d.; and from the same source that it was drunk from *cups*; but in Shipman's *Gossips* (1666), speaking of the sponsors' presents we are told:

"Formerly, when they us'd to trowl
Gilt bowls of sack, they gave the bowl."

In 1862 Lady Herries contributed to the Loan Collection at South

Kensington, a "small silver *sack-bowl* with two handles, parcel gilt, with repoussé figures of St. Matthew and his eagle. Dutch seventeenth century work. Height, five inches and three quarters by four diameter."

Mr. J. B. Greenshields, of Lesmahago, exhibited through Mr. Vere Irving, V.P., a large medallion of the triumvir Cneius Pompeius, of Italian fabric, of about the dawn of the sixteenth century, when the artists of Florence, Mantua, Venice, Verona, and Padua, were busy in reproducing, on plaques and medals, the busts of the poets, sages, and heroes, of classic antiquity. This piece, like all the earlier works of its class, is cast, and measures two inches and a quarter in diameter. On the *obv.* is a laureated, bearded bust, to the left of POMPEVS MAGNVS,—much like that seen on the coins which have the portrait of his fifth wife, Cornelia, for reverse; the *rev.* of the medallion bears a figure of Victory crowning a *tropæum*, beneath which is the word ROMA, and around the legend, INVISI PATRIS HOC MIHI DVLCÈ EST PIGNVS.

Also a wooden box with square holes partly filled with brass money-weights, nearly all of which have on their reverses the arms of Zealand between the letters ^M_D^M, and date 1615; but one of the weights so dated has on its obverse a crown, crossed sceptres, and golden fleece, between the date 1605. Two of the weights have ships, one being accompanied by the letter H, the other by an E and a rose. Other devices are—St. Michael, a cross-potent, a crowned bust to the right, between E and a rose (?), perhaps intended for Edward VI; and two of the pieces have crowned busts of James I dividing the letters I. R. The arms on these weights indicate them to be of Dutch manufacture.

In Mr. Cuming's collection is a wooden box of scales, and thirteen weights of similar character, intended for the ducat and double ducat, sovereign, pistol, sun-pistol, and carolin, with their several halves, etc.

Mr. Greenshields also exhibited two little silver coins stated to have been discovered beneath a cairn, but both modern: the one a Turkish parah of Mahomed V (1730-1754), the other a Spanish real of Charles IV (1788-1808). During the last century such reals were much used by our sailors as sleeve-buttons, being united by a link for this purpose.

Mr. Greenshields likewise produced a carved and inlaid wooden pinnacle—the terminal ornament of a car or other vehicle—analogueous to the *tee* which surmounts the Burmese *rath*, or state carriage, exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, in 1825; of which an engraving is given in Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. i, p. 1528.

Mr. J. L. Irvine, of Unst, Shetland, presented to the society two casts from objects found in Shetland. The first of these are casts of the two sides of a fragment of what probably was a tombstone of the eighth or ninth century, found some years since at a place called Stackaberg, in the Island of Uyea, Unst, Shetland, when stones were being dug to

build the present Manor House in Uyea. A considerable number of urns were found, containing burnt bones and ashes, by the workmen employed; and the fragment here cast is said to have been found used as a covering stone, or was a portion of a covering stone to one of these urns. The ornament is of a similar character to that observed in early Irish manuscripts. The edge being broken, it is impossible to discover whether it had an Ogham inscription like the Bressay stone. The stone of which it is formed is from the neighbouring Island of Unst, so that it could be wrought in the vicinity when found.

The second article cast is a triangular bronze brooch, found together with two large oval saucer-shaped ones of the same metal; a silver bracelet (plain, and of poor silver); and two beautifully coloured glass beads at Clibberswick, in the north part of the Island of Unst, and are now deposited in the Shetland Museum at Lerwick. The triangular brooch, which pretty closely resembles one engraved in Tab. III in the volume of the *Memoirs of the Society of Northern Antiquaries* for 1840-1844, is ornamented with dragons whose feet twist under and grasp parts of their bodies. The hinder side, which still retains the gilding, and has in the centre a small engraved mark, or Runic letter (probably the mark of the maker), had a hinge and two catches for the pin, which was thus double pointed.

The large brooches, which are fine examples of the sort, had been cast upon cores formed of wisps of some sort of cloth, as the marks of the threads remain inside. One of the two had been broken, and carefully repaired during use. On the outside, as usual, the narrow line of Greek fret went round the edge. They had the projecting knobs formed of animals very boldly moulded, while the spaces between had been ornamented with some globes of thin silver now decayed.

The silver bracelet was formed of thin and poor silver, wide in the centre, narrowing towards the ends, and quite plain, no stamping of any kind being upon it.

Of the two glass beads, one was circular, flattened, and formed of red, blue, and white glass; the other was of a long, quadrangular shape, formed of small rolls of twisted white and blue glass, in lobes somewhat like the sides of Saxon glass vessels. It is a very beautiful specimen of the sort. There is a necklace of glass beads in one of the cases in the British room at the British Museum, found in Ireland, in which occurs one precisely similar: indeed, there can be very little doubt that these originally formed part of a similar string.

The "find" was made by a man who was digging in his yard, who found them mixed with the earth, it having often been dug over. On digging down to the rock, he found close to its surface a thin layer of black stuff, evidently the remains of the body and dress, or of the coffin. The man thinks that the two large brooches lay near to, or on, one

shoulder; the triangular one about the centre; lower down, the bracelet, on the left wrist; and supposed it to be of a female. The two glass beads were found low among the earth, so that he could not assign any particular place where they lay. Mr. Irvine remarked that this was, as far as he knew, the only instance of these brooches being found in Shetland, though articles of copper and bronze have been found there. It is to be hoped that Mr. Irvine may find leisure to arrange these and other Shetland objects for consideration at a future time.

Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester, transmitted a paper on a monumental inscription in Wyke Church, near Winchester. (See pp. 184-212 *ante*.)

Miss Wilks, of Douglas, Isle of Man, forwarded some notes in relation to the silver bracelet found at Rathmines, near Dublin, 1855, and which bears on its front a relief from the seal of Thomas de Kirkham or Burton, Bishop of Sodor and Man (1455-58).¹ Miss Wilks makes inquiry regarding the assignment of the relic to the aforesaid prelate. "The question," she remarks, in a note addressed to the Treasurer, "is an interesting one, simply on its own merits as a work of art, and as regards Manx ecclesiastical history (very obscure at that time). It would open up a very remarkable point in the question, whether it may not be considered in the light of a votive offering to some shrine, commemorative of a great deliverance; such offerings were very much the fashion in those days, and bracelets were the form used by the northern nations; they used to swear on their bracelets to render contracts and vows more inviolate. The medallion on this bracelet cannot well be called a 'seal,' either episcopal or of family arms; those of Sodor and Man being *arg.*, upon three ascents the Holy Virgin, standing with her arms extended between two pillars; on the dexter, a church; in base, the ancient arms of Man upon an escutcheon; in ancient times it is said to have been three crosses; and, again, simply an 'orle,' but never anything like this; nor does it in any way pertain to the family arms, none of them exhibiting any human figure. Is it not, then, more probably a portrait of himself, under two remarkable and important circumstances of his life, which I think I find recorded? The first being 'a representation of the bishop, with hands elevated in prayer,' depicted within the arch of the lower compartment. This appears connected with the event described in the following extract from a bull of Pope Calixtus III: 'Bull of Pope Calixtus, uniting the see of Sodor to that of York. Acts upon the exhibition of apostolic letters. It is to be noted, that upon the 18th day of the month February, in the year of our Lord 1458, Thomas, Bishop *Elect* of the Church of Sodor, exhibited at London a certain roll, written below, sealed according to the custom of the Court of Rome, safe and sound, and in no

¹ See *Journal*, xvii, 335; xviii, 287.

part doubtful, to the aforesaid Most Rev. Father in Christ, the Archbishop of York, being present, *Thomas Stanley, Lord of Stanley, and William Stanley* his brother, and William Brand, Notary Public, etc. Bull that the cathedral church of Sodor in Man is suffragan to the church of York.—Calixtus, bishop, etc., to the venerable brother the Archbishop of York, etc. It adds to the amount of your honour and fame, if you advance ecclesiastical personages, *especially those endowed with Pontifical dignity* by the intuition of Divine propitiation, and by the assistance of opportune favour at the present time, moreover concerning the person of our beloved son Thomas, the elect of the church of Sodor, *through the DEATH of Thomas Burton, of happy memory, deceased, BEYOND the Court of Rome, late Bishop of Sodor, at THIS TIME devoid of a pastor, and hitherto reserved for Apostolic appointment, etc.* Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year, etc., A.D. 1458, on the calends of July, in the fourth year of our Pontificate.' (This Pope Calixtus III died in that year.) See note 5, p. 189, of Mr. M'Kenzie's *Legislation of three of the thirteen Stanleys, Kings of Man*, published by the Manx Society. It speaks of the 'King' Stanley of 1423 as having embraced the doctrines of Wycliffe, and in that year making a new system in the constitution of his little ancient kingdom; among other changes, the church was so much curtailed that nothing was left that could legally be called such; consequently, when his son, who was of the old faith, succeeded him, he could not overthrow the well organized civil arrangements, but the church was at his mercy, and he and his successors restored it to its former condition. This little bit of insular history may, in part, have occasioned the circumstance in question, and we see that *two* of the Stanley family—the 'king' one of them—assent to the terms of the bull of deprivation, consequently Bishop Burton must have had much to contend with while upholding the independence of his *most ancient* see; that he succeeded we *know* from other sources, for Sodor and Man was not permanently attached to York till Henry VIII. And this brings us to the second compartment of the bracelet; there we see him as described in the memorandum notice. Manx ecclesiastical history of that period is very obscure, many authors pass it over altogether, and the only notice of Bishop Burton is very short, but *very significant*, it is simply this, viz., Train says: "Forty-first Bishop of Man, Thomas Burton, formerly of Vale Royal, in Cheshire, held the bishopric in 1480, and was succeeded by Thomas Oldham, which is all that is known of the ecclesiastical history of the island during that stormy period. Under his successor, Thomas Hesketh, Thomas Earl of Derby confirmed to him and all his successors all the lands AND PRIVILEGES ANCIENTLY belonging to the Bishops of Man, A.D. 1505.' Probably the fruit of Bishop Burton's exertions. In Cumming's *Isle of Man*, it is said, '*Thomas Burton, A.D. 1452, who held*

the see twenty-eight years, and DIED IN POSSESSION in 1480.' In a note he says, '*Sacheverel gives this bracelet to Thomas à Scott, A.D. 1348.*' But this, I think, is apocryphal, and rather a conclusion of Mr. Cumming's own when editing this work. Sacheverel does not include Thomas Burton in his list. From all this there seem ample grounds for supposing that this bracelet (*if, indeed, 'S. Thome,' etc., be Thomas Burton*), which is neither an episcopal seal nor yet of family arms, is a veritable votive offering to some shrine; or may it not have been made to be preserved as a memorial heir loom, on the first supposition: at the dissolution of monasteries some member of the family may have purchased it? To account for its being found in Ireland, the connection stands thus: two brothers (supposed) of the *Langnor* branch, in 1660, went to Ireland; were bankers; the son of one of them became lord mayor, and so on, till the noble house of Conyngham and Sir W. Burton are now the representatives of them. 'No monastery ever stood on the grounds of Rathmines, but of old castles there were many; among others those of Rathmines, which stood on ground now belonging to Lord Palmerston, and was for a long time the country residence of the viceroys of Ireland. The district in the neighbourhood is still called the "Bloody Fields," as it is the scene of Lord Ormond's defeat by Jones, Cromwell's general, in 1649.'

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that he agreed with Miss Wilks in regarding this ornament as a *donarium*, many of the early church cartularies shewing that jewels and trinkets frequently constituted pious gifts to shrines and sacred images. In all probability this bracelet once graced the arm of an effigy of the Blessed Virgin, or that of some other lady saint, the impress on its front proclaiming to all beholders by whom the offering was made. And this leads to the question whose image and superscription is it that we see upon the oval front? Mr. Cuming exhibited an impression of a seal indisputably taken from the same matrix which produced the relief on the bracelet, and which agrees so closely in design and fabric with other ecclesiastical signets of the middle of the fifteenth century, that he doubts not it appertains to Thomas Burton, Bishop of Sodor and Man, or as he is here entitled, *EPISCOPI MANNENCIS*. The style here employed is most remarkable, and seems somewhat in defiance of the Court of Rome, for in the bull of Pope Calixtus III, issued in 1458, and wherein he strives to make the diocese suffragan to the see of York, the bishop is distinctly called of Sodor. It would be interesting to know how each prelate of this bishopric is designated on his seal. Mr. Cuming placed before us an impression of that of Mark of Galloway, who succeeded Richard in 1275, died in 1303, and was succeeded in 1305 by Allen, or Onachus, of Galloway. The mitred effigy gives the benediction with his right hand, and holds in the left a staff, with simple curved end, and stands

within a tabernacle. The legend reads—S. MARCI DEI GRACIA SODOREN EPISCOPI. Andrew Knox (1606), who is counted by Heylyn and others among the bishops of Man, styles himself EPISCOPUS INSULARUM SCOTIÆ. The *Sodoren* of Mark, the *Mannensis* of Thomas, and the *Insularum Scotiæ* of Andrew, prove how varied were the styles and titles of the prelates of the diocese, and how chequered must have been its history.¹

The Rev. T. Owen Rocke, of Clungunford Rectory, Salop, made the following communication :

"In the course of the last two or three years I have had occasion to remove a portion of a barrow or tumulus almost adjoining my house, from which I collected a number of pieces of ancient pottery. The pieces being mere fragments, I have not thought worth while sending to you ; but as they may possibly be of some interest, I enclose drawings of those which I consider the most remarkable.

"Referring to the Ordnance Map, you will find that this tumulus is the first of a series running in a straight line, at unequal distances, from this place to Walford, distant about five miles, in a direction nearly south. Of five in number, out of six, the deviation (if any) from the straight line is so slight, that it seems this circumstance could scarcely have been accidental. The next in order to this one is at Broadward, very similar in character and dimensions. Then come two at Buckton ; or rather three, though one of them does not quite range in line with the others. These at Buckton are of a rather different character, being of an irregular, oblong shape ; standing on a larger area ; but not so high in proportion to the base, nor the inclination of the sides so great, as in the others. Probably these have been altered from their original form by leveling down the tops. Perhaps at the time they were planted with trees. The last is at Walford, almost identical in form and dimensions with the one at Clungunford. In each instance the sites have been chosen on ground of the lowest level, though some of the intervening space stands considerably higher.

"Some years ago this one at Clungunford was explored by my father, and a detailed account of his operations is given in Mr. Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 102. The side which I have lately removed (the extreme south) seems partly, at least, to have been undisturbed at that time ; though from the broken and scattered fragments of the various vessels, it seems to have been at some previous period ; and this is probable from the fact of the popular notion prevailing here as elsewhere, that these mounds were the depositories of treasure. It having been already explored, I did not note down at the time any particular observations of my excavation. I did observe, however, that we came on the two strata of wood-ashes just as they are described by my father, whose account I have since read in Mr. Hartshorne's book ; and the

¹ On the latter point see *Journal*, vi, 323.

inference which Mr. Hartshorne suggests occurred to me at the time, that there may have been more than one cremation.

"Though in that account it is stated that only pieces of rude, 'un-baked' or 'sun-burnt' pottery were discovered, the pieces in my possession have *all* been burnt in the fire, though submitted to very different degrees of heat; so that while some are hard and glazed, others have very much the appearance of unburnt or sun-burnt clay; but I observe that those which appear burnt least, or not at all, are precisely the ones which are blackened with the smoke or soot,—just as would be the case in an ordinary brick-kiln,—while the others are free from it.

"Some of the vases, of which there seem to have been at least eight or ten varieties, are evidently of much ruder manufacture than others; but most, if not all of them, appear to have been formed in the lathe."

The drawings sent exhibited :

No. 1.—Part of a large-sized vessel. There are several pieces of this, and others very similar, of rather superior manufacture; hard and well burnt; much resembling in colour and substance a common fire-brick. Completing the circle of which it is a segment, the external rim at the top must have been fourteen inches in diameter.

2.—Part of another pot very similar to the last; shewing the inside and the thickness of the substance.

3.—Of red clay, like a common flower-pot, and well burnt; the diameter of the external rim at top about ten inches and a half.

4.—Appears to be the handle of a vessel in red clay, and indented ornament on it; not so well burnt or hard as the last.

5 and 6.—Seem parts of the same vessel; 6, the ear or handle, in full and profile, and covered with a glaze, yellowish green colour, and having a peculiar indented ornament; 5, the lower portion shewing how the glaze runs down in streaks, the bottom being unglazed.

7.—A section of the above shewing thickness of the material and inclination of the sides.

8.—Part of a small vessel in red clay, rudely made; ornament in relief round the top; shallow indentations on the side.

9.—A smaller vessel, apparently, than 5; but having a thin coat of the same sort of glaze on a portion of it; thinner in substance, having a peculiar, indented ornament.

10.—Very hard, yellowish brown glaze outside; inside unglazed, of dark chocolate colour; encircled with a slightly indented ornament.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that, without an inspection of the originals from which the drawings were made, it would be impossible to do more than give a guess at the age of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8; but a pretty clear notion might be formed of the periods of Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10, all being covered more or less with that peculiar yellowish green glaze so conspicuous on the earlier mediæval pottery, and which

consists of protoxide of lead tinged with protoxide of copper. Mr. Cuming pointed out the resemblance between the bosses on No. 9, and those on the breast of the fictile horse of the time of Henry I, engraved in the *Journal* (xiii, 132), and produced portions of two broad handles of vessels of similar character to Nos. 4 and 6. The first of the Clungunford handles is decorated down its centre with a line of diagonal indents; the second with two central lines, forming a sort of mid-rib, from which spring on either side what may be termed narrow leaflets. Both the specimens exhibited by Mr. Cuming have the same sort of leaflets without the mid-rib. One was found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire, Aug. 24, 1854; the other was formerly in the collection of Mr. Crofton Croker, and bears in that gentleman's Catalogue No. XLVI; but its locality is unknown. Mr. Cuming said that though the incised devices on these several examples bore much resemblance to what is frequently seen on British pottery, the character of paste, degree of firing, and above all, the glaze, forbid their assignment to an earlier æra than the Norman dynasty. Having, therefore, established the period of the major part of the Clungunford fragments, it becomes a question if the remainder be of earlier date.

Nov. 25.

JAMES COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman, in opening the meeting, congratulated the Association upon having held a most successful Congress at Leeds in the previous month, under the Presidency of Lord Houghton, to whose zeal on behalf of the Society, and courtesy extended to the Associates and visitors present, he paid a justly deserved tribute, not omitting to particularise his lordship's elegant Introductory Discourse. He also expressed the great satisfaction derived by the Society from the eminent patronage it had received; the generous hospitality of the mayors and corporations of the several cities and towns visited; the elegant receptions offered by many distinguished individuals; and the abundant supply of interesting historical and antiquarian papers, all of which will be duly recorded by the Society, and appear in the quarterly *Journal* and the *Collectanea Archaeologica* of the Association. The Secretary read the following list of Associates added since the adjournment of the Society in June last:—

The Rt. Hon. Earl de Grey and Ripon, 1, Carlton House Gardens.
 Earl Harewood, Harewood House, Hanover Square.
 Lord Londesborough, Grimston Park, Tadcaster.
 Sir Francis Crossley, Bart. M.P., Halifax.

George S. Beecroft, Esq., M.P., Kirkstall.
 Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., Headingley.
 William Edward Forster, Esq., M.P., Burley, near Otley.
 Rev. W. G. Henderson, D.D., Head Master, Grammar School, Leeds.
 James Garth Marshall, Esq., Headingley.
 Arthur Marshall, Esq., Headingley.
 Andrew Fairbairn, Esq., M.A., Leeds.
 John Crossley, Esq., Mayor of Halifax.
 William Beckett Denison, Esq., Burley, Leeds.
 Titus Salt, Esq., Methley Park, Leeds.
 J. Spencer Stanhope, Esq., Cannon Hall, near Barnsley.
 John Metcalfe Smith, Esq., Springfield House, Leeds.
 S. S. Jackson, Esq., Brunswick Place, Leeds.
 John Darnton Luccock, Esq., North Street, Leeds.
 John Smith, Esq., Burley House, Leeds.
 J. W. Stansfeld, Esq., Adel, near Leeds.
 Edwin Eddison, Esq., Headingley.
 John Rhodes, Esq., Potternewton House, Leeds.
 James D. Holdforth, Esq., Caley Hall, Leeds.
 Samuel Lawson, Esq., Kirkstall.
 Andrew Sherlock Lawson, Esq., Aldborough, Boroughbridge.
 Miss Ellen Heaton, Leeds.
 Richard Horsfall, Esq., Waterhouse Street, Halifax.
 F. R. Wilson, Esq., Bondgate, Alnwick.
 Arthur Sykes, Esq., The Manor, Adle, near Leeds.
 Dr. Holdsworth, Mayor of Wakefield.
 F. A. Leyland, Esq., Halifax.
 Douglas Plunknett Hindley, Esq., Loughton, Essex.
 Richard Wood, Esq., Clarksville, Lower Crumpsall, Manchester.
 T. Reseigh, Esq., 4, Lombard Street.
 John Bellas Rogers, Esq., Barnes Villas, Barnes.
 S. Weyland Kershaw, Esq., B.A., 9, Park Terrace, Brixton.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

- To the Society.* Proceedings of the Royal Society. Nos. 56 and 57.
 London: 1863. 8vo.
 „ „ Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries. Vol. 39.
 Part I. London: 1863. 4to.
 „ „ Proceedings from April 1861 to June 1862. Two
 Parts. 8vo.
 „ „ Archæologia Cambrensis for July and Oct. 1863. 8vo.
 „ „ Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and
 Natural History Society for 1861-2. Taunton. 8vo.
 „ „ Sussex Archæological Collections. Vol. XV. Sussex:
 1863. 8vo.

- To the Society.* Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution. 1861. Washington. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Canadian Institution. No. 46. Toronto : 1863. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archaeological Society. No. 40, for April 1863. Dublin. 8vo.
- „ „ Numismatic Chronicle. Nos. 10 and 11. New Series. 1863. London. 8vo.
- „ „ Journal of the Archæological Institute. Nos. 77 and 78. 8vo.
- „ „ Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz. Mainz : 1863. 8vo.
- „ „ Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich. Six Parts. Vol. XIV. Zurich. 4to. 1863.
- To the Author.* On Ancient Literary Frauds and Forgeries, by Dr. R. R. Madden. Dublin : 1863. 8vo.
- „ „ Documents relating to the Winkley Family. Edited by W. Winkley, jun. Privately Printed. Harrow Press : 1863. 8vo.
- „ „ Collections towards the History of Printing in Nottinghamshire, by the Rev. S. F. Cresswell, M.A. London : 1863. 4to.
- „ „ Appendix on York Fabric Rolls, by J. Brown. York : 1863. 8vo.
- „ „ On the Non-Existence of Apses in York Minster, by the same. York : 1863. 8vo.
- To the Publisher.* Gentlemen's Magazine for July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov. 1863. 8vo.
- W. D. Haggard, Esq.* Hatchett (C.) on the Spikenard of the Ancients. London. 4to.

Mr. John Moore, of West Coker, Somersetshire, announced the further discovery of coins and other objects on the site of the Roman villa at Chessells, noticed in this *Journal* (xviii, 392). Attention has already been drawn to remains of the stone and bronze periods exhumed on this spot, and to the Celtic relics may now be added an example of bronze ring money, precisely similar to what is frequently found in Ireland. It measures about three quarters of an inch in diameter, but from erosion and rust its true weight cannot be determined. There are two beads of much interest : a small cylindrical one of chrysoprase, and a large one turned out of a piece of xylanthrax, similar to that met with at Bovy, Devonshire. It measures one inch and a half in diameter and is full three quarters of an inch in thickness. Among domestic implements is the *verticillus*, or whorl of a *fusus*, of

indurated clay, nearly one inch and a quarter in diameter, and three eighths of an inch thick, similar to examples described in this *Journal* (xv, 307). Of Roman coins, mention may be made of a *sestertius* of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus: *rev.*, Hilaritas. And a third brass of Allectus: *obv.*, profile bust to the right—IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG.; *rev.*, standing figure of PAX AVG. In the field, S. P.; exergue, M. L. (*Moneta Londinensis*). The bronzes, though few in number, are of rare character. The front of a harp-shaped *fibula* has a deep sulcus down its centre, and is of very neat fabric. Another item is a chain of thirty-seven links, to one end of which is attached a point two inches and three-eighths long, hinged to a staple; and at the other a flat, broad, slightly curved object, one inch and three-quarters long. It may be conjectured that the point is a graphium or style, and the other object a spatula, employed with the waxen *tabella*, upon which subject see *Journal* xix, 68.

The most important of the Chessells relics is a votive tablet offered to Mars by Juventius Sabinus—

DEO. MARTI.
RIGISAMO
INVENTIVS
SABINVS.
V. S. L. L. M.

The meaning of the second line is not very clear. Mr. Moore renders it *Rigidissimo*, and considers the offering made to Mars Rigidus. This tablet is a thin plate of bronze, nearly one inch and three quarters high, and about two inches and three quarters in length, the letters being formed with a fine-pointed punch.

In Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* (iii, 409) is a "*votum militis*" of the same type as the above, but of larger size, and dedicated to Mars and Fortune by C. Alfidius Secundus—

MARTI. ET. FORTVNÆ
C. ALFIDIVS. SECVDVS
MILES. COH. XVII.

D D

It is described as "*tabella senea literis argenteis distincta*," but the letters are in all probability filled with nigellum.

Mr. Thos. Gunston exhibited two elegant *ampullæ* recently found, with many other Roman sepulchral remains, in Moorfields. They respectively measure six inches in height, and are formed of light-coloured clay.

Mr. Sherratt exhibited two photographs of parts of Rievaulx Abbey.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills laid before the meeting the plan of Fountains Abbey, which he had exhibited and explained at the late Congress at Leeds, and proceeded to remark upon the two fine photographs which

had been laid upon the table for examination as views of Fountains Abbey. Mr. Hills said that the photographs did not represent any part of that Abbey ; but he readily identified them as views of the choir and transepts of the church of Rievaulx Abbey,—a very fine ruin near Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He regretted that he could not illustrate this monastery with a detailed plan such as he had done of Fountains ; but submitted one shewing the main dimensions of the church and of the monastic buildings immediately attached to it, drawn to the same scale as that of Fountains, and laid down from his own measurements. A comparison of the plans shewed that, in the size of the edifices of the two establishments, it would be difficult to assign a superiority to either ; and Mr. Hills accounted for the superior reputation which the buildings at Fountains have obtained, by noticing not only the more perfect condition of its church, and of the west wing of the monastery in which the convent brothers were lodged, and which forms so striking a feature there ; but also by remarking upon the comparatively neglected state of the Rievaulx buildings, where, in many parts about the refectory, kitchen, and adjacent offices, heaps of broken walls, rubbish, and tangled bushes and brambles, prevent any very close or exact observation. Rievaulx Abbey was the first Cistercian foundation in Yorkshire, dating from A.D. 1131 ; and it was the early fame of its sanctity which led to the secession of certain monks from St. Mary's at York, to found an abbey of the same order as Rievaulx at Fountains. The buildings which time has spared at Rievaulx, consist of the choir and transepts of the church ; the wing extending from one of the transepts, and which contained the Chapter House and the day-room and dormitory of the monks ; also the refectory, placed opposite the nave of the church, as usual with the Cistercians ; the kitchen, and some inferior offices. Very little of the wing of the convent brothers, which formed the fourth side of the cloister quadrangle, remains. In the rear of the first quadrangle are considerable remains of the second and smaller one, containing the infirmary ; but in this point there is nothing approaching in magnificence the corresponding hall and buildings at Fountains, erected there for the "entertainment of the princes of this world." The nave of the church of Rievaulx is utterly destroyed : a fragment or two of wall at the end and sides alone remain, just sufficient to define its length and breadth. The choir and transepts, however, are in nearly perfect condition. There is this very remarkable incident at Rievaulx, that the church stands nearly north and south ; the choir at the south end ; and as the river Rie passes along its west side, the domestic buildings are on the west side of the church, between it and the water. In any description of the church, therefore, for the sake of comparison with others, north and south must be understood to apply where, in other cases, west and east would be used ; and as

east and west take the usual place of south and north at Fountains, very little of the first buildings can be traced ; and the traces, when observable, are in the domestic parts. At Rievaulx the traces of the earliest of the Abbey buildings are in the church. The north (west) side of the transepts preserves both the ground story and clerestory of the original Norman work ; but upon this, about A.D. 1220, judging from the architecture, was added a new clerestory, by which the original one was converted into a triforium. Mr. Hills could not doubt that the nave which adjoined this part was ennobled at the same time by the addition of the second clerestory, although he had no other foundation for this conjecture than the fact that it would certainly be capable of the same treatment as the part of the transept to which it adjoined ; and without such treatment it would have had a very incomplete and inferior aspect. The choir and south (east) side of the transept were at the same time wholly rebuilt ; and for this measure we can easily account. It had become the fashion to consider the small chancels of the strict Cistercian rule (such as still remain at Buildwas and Kirkstall) as dark, cramped, and undignified ; and hence at Fountains and Rievaulx, and many other places, the original chancel gave place to one of vastly greater size and importance. In very few instances can these new features have exceeded in grace and magnificence the choir of Rievaulx of the thirteenth century. It rivals many of our cathedrals in the stately proportions of its design ; and in present interest surpasses the corresponding part of Fountains, inasmuch as the church of Fountains happens to have suffered more destruction in its choir than anywhere else. Nor, except in its rare and beautiful appendage, called "The Nine Altars," has the church of Fountains retained any part so rich and noble in its design as the new choir and southern part of the transepts of Rievaulx. The refectory at Rievaulx is also of the first half of the thirteenth century, and in no way inferior to that of Fountains, whether we regard its architecture or the present completeness of the work. It has the peculiarity of possessing a crypt or undercroft ; for the rapid declivity of the ground towards the river gives a height below the floor of the refectory of about twenty feet, at the end furthest from the church ; and this declivity from east to west it was which made it impossible to place the church in the most usual direction. Some remains of the gate-house of the Abbey precincts are to be seen by the road-side, a little north-east of the Abbey ; and a memorial of the former wealth and industrial pursuits of the monks of Rievaulx, is to be seen constantly in the slag of their iron-furnaces, which supplies material for road-works throughout the neighbourhood, and of which a vast accumulation still remains at the site of their mines, less than a mile distant.

Mr. E. Levien, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper, "On Unpublished MSS. relating to Meaux Abbey," which is printed on pp. 264-275 *ante*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper, "On a German Sabre of the Sixteenth Century," which will be printed in a future *Journal*.

The Rev. Henry Jenkins, B.D., communicated a paper, "On the Roman Roads mentioned in Antonine's *Itinerary* as leading to and from Colchester," printed pp. 275-285 *ante*.

Mr. George Vere Irving, V.P., made some observations on this communication, the principal of which were as follow :

"Our late lamented associate, Mr. Just, who did so much to elucidate the lines of the Roman iters in the north-west of England, most justly observed in the last paper he contributed to us, 'that the key is on the ground, which, when found and taken up, will unlock the dungeon doors, and let the light into this labyrinth of obscurity.' It is only by carefully investigating the lines of Roman roads, and the evidences of inhabitation connected with them, that we can ever arrive at an understanding of the position of the stations in the Antonine iters, the *Notitia*, the *Ravenna* list, and the *Diaphragmata*, appended to the *De Situ Britannia*, attributed to Richard of Cirencester.

"In searching for this key there are certain points which must be attended to, or indications of Roman remains will only mislead us :

"1st.—We must never overlook the fact that the Roman mile was considerably less than our statute ones, in a proportion of about one-eighth. This is of little consequence in distances under ten miles, but becomes most important in all over that distance.

"2nd.—It will not do to measure the distances from one place, where evidence of Roman extensive occupation occurs, to another by compasses on a map ; in other words, as the crow flies, or by modern roads. You must make your distance along the ascertained line of the Roman road ; and this is a rule that has been too often neglected, entailing, as it necessarily does, the labour of actual measurement of considerable distances.

"3rd.—We must continually keep in mind the different character of the successive periods of Roman occupation, and the period when the particular *Itinerary* we are examining was composed. This is of the utmost importance in such a district as the eastern counties, which were as fully occupied by the Romans as they are at the present day ; and where, in consequence, we find traces of their occupation continually occurring, with roads as numerous as the turnpikes and parish ways of more modern times. Nothing can more strongly exemplify this than the fact that all the itineraries, except the *Notitia*, are silent in regard to the magnificent Roman military post of Burgh, which the Association visited during the Norwich Congress.

"4th.—We must not alter the conditions of the problem we have to solve. We must accept the distances in the iter as one of these conditions, and work out our conclusions accordingly. It will not do to

ignore these, and substitute for them, according to some foregone conclusion of our own, some other distances which agree with our ideas of what should be. Were we to do this in mathematics, we might declare that it was proved that the square of the longer side of any triangle was equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides, ignoring the fact that this is only true in the case of a right angled triangle.

"Applying these rules to the Rev. Mr. Jenkins's paper, we have to thank him for the minute information he has given us as to the discovery of Roman remains at various points, many of which are not mentioned in the county histories usually consulted.

"Starting from Colchester, he naturally divides the eighth iter of Antoninus into two, which he discusses in the first and third part of his paper. 1st, that from Colchester to London. The distances as given by the Antonine iters, the Cirencester *Diaphragmata*, and Mr. Jenkins, are—

	A.	D.	JENKINS.
Camulodunum—			
To Canonicum . . .	9	9	9
Cæsaromago . . .	17	15	12
Durolito . . .	16	16	16
London . . .	12	12	15
	54	52	52

"I quite agree with Mr. Jenkins, that no line of road can be supposed to be that of an *iter*, unless there are Roman remains to be found in its vicinity. I also think that he has clearly established that a line of Roman road ran out of Colchester in the direction he points out. I may add, that his particular description of the roads out of Colchester, and their direction, is one of the most valuable points in the paper; and he has clearly established the course of this road to Billericay and London.

"As to Birch Castle, it is evidently one of the late fortresses of the dungeon type, founded on a sepulchral mound, but of what date that mound is no one can tell without excavation. That at Lewes certainly revealed a Roman interment, but we have every reason to suppose that tumuli of this kind were formed by the Britons, and they were assuredly used, without any consideration of their nationality, by those who formed the strengths I classify as belonging to the dungeon type. Mr. Jenkins refers to tumuli as marking the course of a Roman road. As to this point I can only say, that I have personally surveyed nearly one hundred miles of these roads, and never yet saw a tumulus that I could say was connected with them, although fine examples occur in their vicinity, but these have no immediate relation to the roads. Certainly we often meet with banks and ditches running along side these roads, and it is a question yet to be investigated why we meet

these at some points and not in others of an iter. The solution will most probably be found in the character of the country through which the road passes at the place.

"Thynes Green Camp may or may not have been the station, according as this line of road may be determined to be the Iter of Antoninus.

"Billericay. That this may be Cæsaromagus is possible; but it is quite clear that it had nothing to do with Julius Cæsar. Independent of the opinion expressed at a former meeting of the Association, as to the situation of the camps of that general, it is needless to repeat what I have so often said, that an *expeditionary* camp has nothing in common with a permanent station, and that the rules which guided the selection of their localities were totally different.

"As to the northern portion of the eighth iter of Antoninus, there are so many Roman roads in Suffolk, that it is difficult to give any the preference. Suckling tells us that there is a clearly marked road from Thetford to Stratford, from which the route proposed by Mr. Jenkins differs only a few miles. I should prefer that of Suckling, placing the station 'Ad Ansam', the handle or turning point, for these names did not extend beyond a district at Stratford. Both, however, fix Brettingham as Cambretonium, which agrees with the *Diaphragmata** when rightly read, that is when you take the asterisks after *venta* as a *stop*, and then returning to Cambretonium you start again from it, which will correspond with the remaining distances of the iter.

"It is, however, in the fifth iter of Antoninus that the great difficulty occurs. It is headed 'a Londini Lugvalio ad vallam, 446 miles,' and its first stations are: London—Cæsaromago, 28; Colonia, 24; Villa Faustini, 35; Icianus, 17; Camborico, 35; Duriliponte, 25; Durobrevis, 35; Camensis, 30; Lindo, 28. Now, is the Colonia of this iter the same as Camulodunum or Colchester? Mr. Jenkins assumes this to be proved; but the facts lead me to the conclusion, that, so far from this being the case, it is *distinctly* disproved.

"Can we conceive a writer or compiler giving two names to the same place, and, what is more, placing them in his itinerary at different distances from the same point? Those who contend for both Camulodunum and Colonia being the same station must explain this. There is another point also to be considered in reading these itineraries, viz., that when they have to go over part of the course of another iter, they never repeat the names of the intermediate stations, but at once go to the point where the roads separate. This occurs in this fifth iter. No station is mentioned before *Cæsaromagus*, leaving out *Duro-litum*; the distance between these points being the same, and the dis-

¹ The *Diaphragmata* places this station on the Stour ("ad Sturem amnem"), which corresponds with Stratford, also with Neyland, though in a less degree.

crepancy occurring afterwards, I have no doubt therefore that this station of Cæsaromagus was the point of divergence between the two roads.

"I believe that an objection to this reading of the iters will be raised, on the ground that the earliest iter should have contained the intermediate stations, and the subsequent ones the compendium; but, curiously enough, this is not the case, as the fifth iter of the *Diaphragmata* jumps from 'A Linite' to 'Curice,' and the ninth gives the intermediate distances.

"Apart from the iters, we have to thank Mr. Jenkins for calling our attention to the Roman remains at Ridgway. Stukeley tells us of a Roman road from Cambridge to Haverhill, and Mr. Jenkins now completes this, thus filling up a most important blank in the roads of the Roman period.

"I have only to add, in regard to the *villa Faustini*, which occurs in these iters, that if we find a villa of the Roman period in the line of a road, we need not go hunting about for a camp near it for the station. These villas are most extensive, as witness that at Bignor, and another we saw in Berkshire, and could well accommodate a regiment, even if their owner was resident therein as the officer in command of the district, and still more if his property were forfeited for some crime. Therefore the villa Faustini might have been at first a *villa*, and afterwards turned into a barrack."

DECEMBER 9.

GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York was enrolled a Life Associate.

Clifford W. Chaplin, Esq., Oxford and Cambridge Club; and

George Lane, Esq., Mess Room, St. James's Palace, were elected Associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

To the Canadian Institute. For their Journal, No. 47, Sept. 8vo.

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, No. 58. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 8vo.

To the Author. Letters 1—3, On the Primitive Site of Roman London, by W. H. Black. 12mo. London: 1863. Privately Printed.

George Wentworth, Esq. Two Photographs (Front and Back View) of an Old House in Wakefield.

J. T. Irvine, Esq. Etchings of a Fire-place in the Kitchen of Murray's Castle, Unst.

„	„	Poor-box at Barrington Church, Salop.
„	„	Old House at Leominster.
„	„	Door of Old House at Leominster.
„	„	Sculptured Crosses found at St. Lawrence, Ludlow.
„	„	Castle Unst, Shetland.
„	„	Standing Stone of Steinster, Island of Yell.
T. Sherratt, Esq.		Engraving of Kirkstall Abbey.
„	„	Engraving of Carisbrooke Castle Gateway.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a portion of the slightly concave iron face of a buckler, thickly studded with small brass knobs, like to the circles of multitudinous bossets on the ancient British *tarian*. When perfect it was about eleven inches in diameter, with an umbo full three inches and a half in diameter, from the centre of which projected a pyramidal spike, about one inch and a quarter in length, and having a screw two inches in length, which was also exhibited. Date, *temp.* Henry VIII. Found recently in the mud at Dowgate Dock. One of the Canterbury pilgrims, engraved in this *Journal* (ii, 407), has a spiked buckler hanging by his side, and such small round shields were greatly used by swordsmen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the spikes varying much in length, many being as short as that from Dowgate, whilst others measured full five inches.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited the quadrangular spike of a target one inch and three-quarters long, with a screw one inch long. It is also of the time of Henry VIII, and was formerly in the Brocas Collection at Wakefield Park, Berks. The target of the Emperor Charles V, in the Meyrick Collection, has a quadrangular spike, with foliate and bulbous base four inches and a half long, with a screw one inch and a quarter long. Silver, in his *Paradoxes of Defence* (ed. 1599) says: "The sword and buckler hath the advantage against the sword and target, the sword and dagger, or rapier and poniard."

Mr. Irvine exhibited a square lock and key of a cabinet of the close of the reign of Elizabeth. The brass plate is engraved with elegant foliate scrolls, terminating in a dolphin's head, from the jaws of which issues a leaf-shape tongue. The upper part of the key-hole is a cylindrical pipe, made to turn round as an additional security. The quatrefoil pipe of the key is dentated, like one described in this *Journal* (xii, 126, and the bow is wrought with the letters *B. M.*, in cipher, ensigned by a viscount's coronet, probably indicating it to have been made for Broun, Viscount Montagu.¹

Mr. Irvine also exhibited some keys, a spoon, and a weight found during the excavations for the new India Office; various tracings of tiles from Wheatland Abbey, South Wales; of others found at St. Nicholas, Ludlow; others during the restoration of Pershore Abbey:

¹ For notices of other locks, see *Journal*, xiv, 288

also lately discovered at Westminster; at Dorchester, Oxon; which were referred for future consideration, together with the drawing and plan of a tile kiln and tiles lately found in the City, and a tile from Wheatland Abbey.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a pewter spoon, of the type engraved in this *Journal* (viii, 365), but having a large S stamped on the upper part of the front of the handle, and the bowl displaying the maker's mark—an hour-glass between the letters R. E. It is of the time of Elizabeth, and was found in pulling down an old house in High Street, Maidstone, in 1863. Mr. Wood also produced some large silver table spoons, with broad flat-ended handles, which, with the convex surfaces of the ovate bowls, are richly chased with scrolls of an elegant design. Among other stamps on the handles is the small black-letter f of the year 1683-4.

Mr. Baskcomb exhibited two objects, once the property of an old Tutbury family named Smyth. 1st. An egg-shaped screw nut-cracker, of box-wood, inlaid with bands of lead. In one panel are cut the initials ¹⁵15, in another ¹⁶⁰⁷1607, the first two letters retaining the leaden inlay. The broad thumb-piece of the screw has its upper edge scalloped. This example is an interesting addition to the screw nut-crackers already described in this *Journal* (xiii, 250; xvi, 349). 2nd. A sportman's companion, of steel, found a century back in a secret chamber in Tutbury Castle, which contained many valuable items, and the entrance to which was through a door half way down a very deep well in the grounds. It is a pair of pincers, full five inches long, the sides of the clips bevelled off to form a turnscrew; the hammer which once screwed on to the clips is however lost. The upper part of the limbs, immediately below the hinge, are bowed for nut-crackers. At the end of one limb is a corkscrew, upon which is screwed a tube, with flat base, serving the double purpose of the butt of a ramrod and tobacco stopper. At the end of the other limb is a touch-hole picker, protected by a tube, round the outside of which is screwed a worm for withdrawing the cartridges, etc. It is of the time of William III, and may be compared with the sportsman's companions described in this *Journal* (xv, 288).

Mr. Baskcomb also submitted a curious piece of needlework, in coloured silks, upon white paper, said to be a production of a member of the Lodington family in the year 1604. It represents a lady and her servant, both on horseback, and attired in the costume of *circa* 1785. Attention was called to it by Mr. Baskcomb on account of the fictitious age to which it has been assigned.

Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., of Speen Hill, Newbury, exhibited a handsome silver watch, of the second half of the seventeenth century, two inches and a quarter in diameter. The face is elegantly chased,

the hours in Roman figures, and the minutes in Arabic numerals, being filled with black enamel. Beneath the dial is a kidney-shaped aperture, exposing a portion of the balance wheel and hair spring, and on the margin of this opening is engraved RICH : ROOKER : LONDON. In the centre of the flat, solid, silver-gilt back plate the name is repeated thus : *Richard Rooker, London, 325*. This number is also stamped on the inside of the case. In general aspect it much resembles the silver watch of the time of William III, described in this *Journal* (xi, 258).

Mr. F. J. Baigent exhibited an interesting series of bosses in the vaulting beneath the tower of Winchester College, consisting of monograms and other devices, with shields of arms, the whole of which Mr. B. had been successful in reading. The drawings made of them are very fine, and were executed during the recent rebuilding of the tower, when the bosses were all taken down. There are about twenty-six of them in number. To these may also be added a few others from the roof of the Fromond chantry, in the college cloisters, built only a few years before the tower. These, with biographical notices of the individuals whose monograms, etc., are carved, will form the subjects of a paper now preparing for the Association.

The Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., made the following communication. "A few months since I communicated to the Archaeological Association the discovery of an urn containing upwards of two hundred and fifty Roman coins on the estate of Alfred Tennyson, Esq., at Farringford, in the Isle of Wight.¹ I have now the pleasure of mentioning a still larger numerical discovery, on the 25th of September last, at Wroxall, during the excavation of the eastern section of the Isle of Wight Railway, affording another of those numerous and striking evidences of Roman occupation of the Isle of Wight which have of late years been brought to light. The deposit was in the bottom of the valley at Wroxall, just above the residence of Osmond Johnston, Esq., in a field where the workmen are about to make a tunnel through Wroxall Down to Ventnor. It unfortunately happened that the urn which contained the coins was broken, and many coins were shovelled away into the cart, and must have been altogether lost sight of before the attention of Mr. George Smith, the foreman, was drawn to the discovery. He considered it probable that there might have been several thousand coins, which I have been told was also the opinion of others on the spot; but it is very difficult to ascertain accurately their number or contents, as the workmen sold them to any persons who applied, and many of them are still retained in their possession. The most correct information is that derived from T. A. Barton, Esq., of Southampton, who visited Wroxall a few weeks afterwards, and carefully examined about two hundred and fifty of the coins. He informs

¹ See p. 306 *ante*.

me that they were all small brass, of Tetricus, Crispus, Constantius II, Constantine II, Helena, Valens, Gratian, Arcadius, and Honorius. Besides this reliable and valuable testimony, C. Cramer, Esq., of Ryde, writes me that some of these coins were brought to him, and were principally of the two Constantines and Constantius. From the best information I can gain, I should think that the general character of the coins in this urn was similar to that of the six hundred found in the ampulla at Shanklin in 1833, in which were many of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius; leading to the conclusion that the Romans lingered to the last of their British occupation in the Isle of Wight. The fragments of the urn are in the possession of Richard H. Smith, Esq., of Winston."

Mr. Saxe Bannister, M.A., read the following notice of two MSS., being the Life of Henry V:—

"THE BIOGRAPHY OF HENRY OF MONMOUTH, IN YOUTH, AS PRINCE OF WALES AND AS KING OF ENGLAND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND HEIR AND KING OF FRANCE.

"No apology will be required for offering a contribution to the biography of an English prince, whose popularity among us is attested by numerous early and recent notices of his story. It is, however, to be admitted at once, that strong differences of opinion prevail as to his real character, and even upon leading facts in his career. Ably as certain assertions to his discredit are met in the elaborate work¹ of a learned writer, the Rev. James Endell Tyler, our Henry of Agincourt is still not unfrequently judged with extreme harshness.² This has happened in a quarter where respectful attention cannot be refused to the severe award; but, seeing that the best sources in the history of Henry V's time have not been thoroughly explored, that award is not exempt from cautious scrutiny, and it may probably call for final rejection.

"The members of the Archæological Association are familiar with the numerous printed books in which various opinions are declared respecting Henry V; as well as with many widely scattered, inedited MSS., by the aid of which all obscurities in his story can, it is thought, be cleared up. For this object, a few genuine materials for that story are here submitted to consideration. By studying them the collector has been led to adopt confidently Mr. Tyler's conclusion,³ that this king will ever be named among the '*good and the great*,' after our national history shall be written correctly from its vast treasures, to be

¹ Henry of Monmouth. 8vo. 1838.

² *Memorials of Henry V*, edited by C. A. Cole, in the Treasury Series of our Historical Materials. 8vo. 1850. Preface.

³ Mr. Tyler's preface to the *Henry of Monmouth*, pp. vii and xii.

disclosed from their repositories at home and abroad.¹ The few such materials here briefly noticed, will not perhaps be found the least worthy of publication.

"Manuscript histories of the life and reign of King Henry V are preserved in the British Museum, in the Lambeth Palace Library, and elsewhere, varying materially from published histories. Some are anonymous, and some bear marks of having been produced by no common minds. This is especially true of the MS. in the British Museum.² Taken together, such unpublished works give a good account of the career of this illustrious sovereign. With proper comment they will settle every doubt on that career, and bring out our Henry's character as prince and king in the brightest colours. The early use of some of the MSS. by well-known writers is clear, although not satisfactory on important points.

"THE BRITISH MUSEUM MS.

"This MS. is in six folio volumes, bought a few years ago by the trustees. It is from the pens of several copyists of the seventeenth century, and it has been in at least two successive hands. It has interlineations and corrections, either by the author or by a proposed editor. Its great intrinsic value is increased by the possibility that Ben Jonson furnished a foundation for the work. He wrote such a life; and several interlineations, and some references in the margin of the MS., although not in his handwriting, are from sources known to him. In the composition of his recorded work on Henry V, he had the help of 'Selden, Cotton, and Carew.' He states this expressly in his poem *Vulcan*,³ complaining that the MS. was lost in a fire at his house, which may have been the poet's exaggeration of the trouble. The MS. may have been extracted, or was copied already. The substance of this MS. is in Jonson's spirit, as a known eulogist of Henry; and it is full of Selden and Cotton matter; whilst it is certain Sir G. Carew composed a memoir of the great king.⁴

"The notice by the learned Bishop Nicolson of the lives of Henry V still extant in his lordship's time, should lead us to a particular search after such historical materials. The collections of Bishop Fell,

¹ It is curious to find in the *Vatican* MSS. about Henry V (Haenel's Catalogue). They may be part of the collections saved by Polydore Vergil from the monastic libraries.

² Additional, 19,979-84.

³ "But in my desk were three books—

— and in story there
Of our fifth Henry, eight of his nine years;
Wherein was oil, besides the succours, spent,
Which noble Carew, Cotton, Selden lent."

B. Jonson's Works, by Gifford, vol. viii, p. 419.

⁴ Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, by Lord Orford (Park's ed.), ii, p. 239.

'that indefatigable promoter of all sorts of learning,' are asserted to be well worth attention. A life of Henry V among them, '*carefully collated from early sources, and prepared for the press,*' says Bishop Nicolson, 'should be printed by Bishop Fell's executors.'¹ It is then added that Speed, in his *Chronicle*, had used most of the work of Sir George Carew; and to him, as shewn, Ben Jonson was indebted for help in his *Life of King Henry*, whom the learned poet held up as a pattern to Prince Henry, son of James I. But he carefully distinguished, in the person of Edward I, the home virtues of a king from exploits in war.² Sir Robert Cotton, too, in a controversy of the time, wrote for that young prince a tract, to shew the evils of war and the blessings of peace; and Edmondes, the translator of *Cæsar*, is cautious in his dedication to the prince not to advocate offensive wars. So this MS. history of Henry V, traceable in its materials and spirit to the peaceful reign of James I, opposes aggression and conquests. It labours much to shew King Henry in the French war to be only vindicating a supposed right, not to be aiming at the mere extension of power, as sometimes imputed to him. Moreover, Ben Jonson held Shakespeare to be somewhat rash;³ and he must have been displeased at the violation of historical truth in the Prince Henry and the Falstaff of the stage, brilliant as the exhibition is. Those errors can be set fully right without detracting from the credit of Shakespeare's genius. Oldys⁴ and others began the reparation in the last century. It is ably pursued by writers of our time, as Mr. Luders in his *Character of Henry V*, published in 1813.

"The Museum MS. must have been in the hands of Thomas Goodwin, who, in 1704, published a history of the reign of Henry V from materials supplied by 'Rymer and the Earl of Anglesey,' adding 'Southerby,' a learned collector of MSS. at the time, as he states in his preface.

"But a decisive objection to a notion that this Museum MS. could come *direct* from Ben Jonson, without additions in the text by a later hand, arises out of at least one passage in it. That passage is given among the extracts annexed to this notice, in order to assist in fixing the authorship of the work. Should this passage negative the opinion of his having written all the work, the important topics of the passage, *coin and currency*, are examined by the author so ably, as materially to

¹ The English Historian's Library. 8vo. 1691.

² "Civil arts the martial must precede." (*Prince Henry's Barriers. A Masque.* Vol. vii, p. 167, etc.)

³ "I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side of idolatry. He had brave notions, wherein he flowed with that facility, that *sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped.*" (Ibid., vol. ix, p. 175.)

⁴ *Biog. Brit.*, article, "Sir John Fastolfe," vol. iii, p. 1899. *Parly. History*, 8vo., 1762, vol. xi, p. 113, etc.

increase the intrinsic value of the MS. It cites a book certainly written long after Jonson's death, namely, the volume of Le Blanc, on *The Coins of France*, published in 1690. As the Museum MS. refers to portions of the Cotton collections as they existed before the fire of 1731, and as it contains at least one document of great interest from the Cotton treasures then lost, it must have been produced before this year. These six folio volumes, of 250,000 words, would make three volumes in print, corresponding with the National Historical Series published by the Treasury. Until the three missing chapters be found (and they are being diligently searched for) an introduction, based on the Lambeth MS. and on other neglected sources, will furnish a full memoir of Henry V in youth and whilst Prince of Wales; and a French memoir for his earlier days, in the reign of Richard II, is extant.

“THE MS. IN THE LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY.

“This MS., compiled in the sixteenth century from Titus Livius and other original authorities, was used, but not exhausted, by John Stow. Along with more good sources, it will materially promote the restitution of a lofty character to our heroic Henry. It is No. 138 of the printed catalogue of that Library. The date of the original may be fixed, from internal evidence, at the reign of Henry VIII, although this copy was made in 1601. It purports to be the true story of Henry as the best possible lesson and example for the young sovereign to whom it is addressed. It consists of one hundred and thirty-six closely written folio pages; and every line might be published advantageously, with some slight changes in the arrangements, and with proper additions.

“Stow states that he *abridged* such materials, of which a better use may now assuredly be made. Thus it is reasonable to expect the production of a really good life of Henry V. It was well said by another prince of famous memory, lost to us too soon, *Henry Stuart*, that the history of the nation ought to be written with all solicitude and truth. He desired to know the great actions of his ancestors, only to become himself worthy of their examples. In such terms Prince Henry gave the task of an English historian to Sir John Hayward. We have young princes now learning the hard lesson of regal life, and young millions, also, eager for the best information upon the past of our people; all its records, therefore, the earliest and the most recent, call for critical examination and judicious publicity.”

Mr. Bannister exhibited facsimiles of the British Museum and Lambeth Library MSS., and read extracts from them, the first relating to King Henry's prisoners and the second campaign in France, and to his diplomacy; the second to his political economy—in reforming the coins of his French conquest; and the third to some proceedings to-

wards the Lollards and the Welsh people. The latter two we subjoin as examples; but the MS. contains many important details on those heads, as well as curious anecdotes illustrative of our national character.

"But the complaints made daily of the extravagant prices of money now current, moved King Henry, in order to prevent the inconveniences likely to attend it, to resolve upon some regulation therein. For this method was conceived very requisite to preserve the people in quiet, and to remove the occasion of frequent quarrels and disputes; therefore, whilst he was at Vernon sur Sayne, he issued a Proclamation to fix the value of divers pieces; as that the Blanc de Deulx Blanc Francois should go for one Blanc, having a Crown with three Fleur de Litz impressed upon it; the petit Blanc Francois should go for one Blanc; the grand Blanc de Bourgonge for two Blancs; and the petit Blanc de Bourgogne for one petit Blanc; the grand Blanc de Bretaign for eight Tournois; and the petit Blanc for four Tournois.

"It is to be observed, that presently, after the reduction of Rouen, King Henry gave order for the coining of the very same pieces, both of gold and silver; that is to say, moutons and gros, in the same forme, and after the same manner as they were wont to be formerly; and not long after this, viz., on the five and twentieth of September of this year, being then at Gisors, he published an order for diversifying some, and making other new coins in the following manner:

"1st. That upon the moutons of gold, as also upon the gros, demy gros, quater gros of silver, mansoys and petit deniers, there shou'd, exactly in the middle of the large cross be stamp an H.R. (*conjoined.*)

"Item. That for the future, quater gros shou'd be coin'd and goe for five deniers tournois a piece, weighing 2d=16, and equivalent to the gros de Hen which were to have upon the pile, a crown with three Fleurs de Litz.¹

"Item. That doubles called mancoiz shou'd be made; and go for 2d, a piece tournois, weighing 1d.=8gr.; which were to have upon the pile three Fleur de Litz.²

"Item. That petits deniers should be made, weighing one penny, to goe for 1d. — tournois; which were to have two Fleur de Litz upon the pile.⁴

"Item. That English nobles shou'd pass, and each noble to goe for 48 gros of Norman money, upon which gros of Norman money there was writ on the pile *Henricus*; and near the cross a Leopard, the whole being valued at £4 tournois.

"Item. That petits moutons, passing at present for 12 gros, should goe for 18 gros of Norman money, in value 30s. tournois.

¹ A.D. 1419, Norm. 7 5, A. R. 7. Ul. s. m. 50, d.

² 13s. 4d. to a mark.

³ 16s. 8d. to a mark.

⁴ 25s. to a mark.

"Item. That the nobles mention'd above should goe for 60 gros of Carolus's, being equivalent to 100 sols tournois.

"But to supply silver for this new coinage, great encouragement was given to Merchants to import it; and at the same time a strict prohibition, attended with a severe penalty to be inflicted upon all sorts of people that should attempt to export any bullion, whether of gold or silver, or any broken silver or silver vessel, without a particular licence, out of the Dutchy of Normandy; moreover, that there shou'd be no exchange made unless by a special order from the King, attested under the hands of the 9 Mint Masters General at Rouen; and lastly, that no gold or silver bullion shou'd be wrought, but all be brought to the mint and there coined.

"This is all I find relating to the State and Condition of the Coyne this year; but being now engaged upon that subject, I will also observe what further happened in the next in reference to it. For the regulation of the several pieces, and reducing each to a just standard in Normandy, gave occasion to the for the importing in the meanwhile, their counterfeit coin from Ffrance and other places, in so much that the Country perfectly swarm'd with Gold and Silver money of that sort, which came vastly short to the goodness of their own, both in alloy and weight, upon which a general complaint being made, the King, to remove the present, and to prevent the future prejudices and inconveniences likely to proceed therefrom, consulted his great Council in order to find out some provision or other; and accordingly, by the advice thereof, for several causes and considerations moving the King thereunto, an order was made the 12th of Jaunary following and directed to John Boindon and Robert Guardians of the mint at Rouen, for them to coin at that place your Gros,¹ which were to pass for xxd. tournois, a piece weighing 3d. 3qr., and upon the pile whereof were three Fleurs de Litz, over which was placed . crown, all being supported by two Leopards, and writ round, *Henricus Francorum Rex*; and on the reverse side, exactly in the middle, a large cross, an , and writ round it *sit nomen Domini Benedictum*; and besides these gros, they had orders at the same time to make Petits Fflemins d'or,² call'd crowns, weighing 22 carats, to go for 24 reauls, which were valued at two francs; and upon the pile of these petits flemins was to be a crown with the arms of England and France quarter'd, and writ round *Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Franciæ et Angliæ*; and on the reverse side a large cross with an H exactly in the middle of it, and amongst the flourishes of the said cross, there were to be two Leopards and as many Fleurs de Litz, and writ round *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*.

"³ Presently after this order, that is to say upon the first of Feb-

¹ 6s: 8d. to a mark.

² Seventy-six to a mark.

³ Norm. 7, H. 51, p. 1, m. 24, d. 1, ffeb.

ruary following, the King issued a Proclamation wherein he signify's that he had received vast numbers of gros abovesaid, that were brought from France and Bretagne, as well as other places, into Normandy ; which, tho' of less value, yet resembling those which pass'd there, were commonly taken in payments ; by which means the more valuable gros were picked up, and conveyed out of the country, and the less valuable left in their stead ; therefore, to prevent this inconvenience for the future by this Proclamation gros were generally cri'd down (those only excepted of which I have given an account just above) as also all other silver money ; and none to be received in payment after the first of May following, unless such only as was of the King's own impression.

"Not long after this, that is to say on the eighteenth of April, an order, of the same nature with the first part of the former, was directed to the Mint mast^r at St. Lo, with commission for them to coin gros of the same sort with those coyn'd at Rouen, only with this small difference, that those to be coyn'd at St. Lo were to have a point or dot under the second letter of both the inscriptions round the pile and cross ; as, for example, *Henricus*, etc., on the pile, and *Sit*, etc., on the cross.

"These are all the coyns I meet with in this reign, having seen nothing further of this nature in all our records ; but M. Le Blanc, in his *Historical Treatys of Money*, recounts some more, which, tho' he do's not clearly distinguish whether they were coyn'd in this or the succeeding reign, yet, because they were currant during the administration of affairs by the English in Ffrance, I shall, for the reader's satisfaction, take notice of in their order. First there is the salut : soe called from the angelical salutation which is represented on the pile, and are said by him to have been coyn'd in 1421, which is the ninth of this present reign. The seal is the angelos, which also takes its denomination from the figure of an angel holding the arms of France and England. He mentions an antient manuscript, suppos'd to be writ about this time, which reports that this money was made by the king, being of purer gold and greater value than any of his neighbours, intending by this artifice to have alienated the affections of the French from Charles the 7th, who was necessitated to make his coin infinitely worse. The franc and noble come next in order, both which, as also the two former, were of gold, and appear to have been very beautiful, as may be better understood by the figures of them ; after these come those coined which he called de Billon, because they are compounded of a mixt metal, whereof only a certain part was silver, and the rest alloy. The first of these is the grand blanc, the same with gros number 6 ; but besides he gives the figure of another, and not yet described, having cut the pile of Arm's of ffrance and England quartered, and over them is writ *Henricus* ; and round them ffran Rex, and on the

reverse a Cross with a fleur de Litz on the right, and a Leopard on the left side of it, with Henricus writ under it, and inscription the same with the other gros. The next is the petit blanc, of which there are two sorts, which you may judge of in the figures of them, and in the last rank are plac'd the double of Paris, the denier of Paris, the denier Tournois, and obole, which I forfear (*sic*) to give any description of, because they are laid open before you in the several figures of them. Thus far I have followed Mr. Le Blanc; but *Du ffresne* in his Glossary presents us with another sort (I think) of *salut*; which differs from the Blanc in the device upon the pile, as is to be seen in the figure; and *Du ffresne* further observes another piece which he indeed gives no name to, but the figure of it on the Pile or Leopard, as is on the denier tournois, with a Fleur de Litz impending; and writ round  Rex Angliæ et Rex Franciæ; and on the reverse a large cross, writ round,  *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*"

A.D. 1416, A. R. 4, Pat. 3. K. 5 m. 15. dat. 28. Jan. "At the same time one Richard Gourniier, a Baker in London, by an unhappy fate was burnt for Heresey; and his goods given by patent to Gordon Woresley, Groom of the Chamber."

Clus 3. K. 5. do and dat. 8 Feb. "But as the King was a very liberal rewarder of merit, and a severe punisher of incorrigible vice, so his clemency was always great towards ignorant offenders; therefore he extended his gracious pardon which was limited to Candlemass last, once more to all that would take the benefit of it till Easter following."

Pat. 3. K. 5 ps 2. m. 2. 24 Feb. "The Welsh, too, participated of this extraordinary mercy; for Sir Gilbert Lord Talbot was assigned to treat with Meredith ap Owyn, son to Owyn de Glendowndy spoken of before in order to reduce both him and the rest of the rebellious Welsh to a sense of their obedience, and consequently reconcile them to the King's service; tho' the castle and domain of Langstepham in Wales, forfeited to the King by the rebellion of William Owyn the father and Henry the son (both killed in the French army at Agincourt) were given to the Duke of Gloucester, the King's youngest brother." Orig. 3. K. 5. Rot. 51. 20 Feb.

Mr. Edward Roberts, F.S.A., read a paper on Brixworth Church, (printed pp. 285-305 *ante*) and illustrated it by various drawings and plans, some of which are engraved on plates 20 and 21. A discussion ensued between the Chairman, Mr. J. T. Irvine and the author; and the thanks of the meeting having been voted to Mr. Roberts, the Association was adjourned over Christmas to January 13, 1864.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

JEWRY WALL.—At the Leicester Congress of the Association, held in 1862, the Jewry Wall at Leicester was inspected, and the necessity of making excavations to determine, if possible, the nature of the building, strongly insisted upon. The Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society cheerfully undertook this labour; and in the Report of the Society just issued, Mr. E. L. Stevens has made the following observations: "Having obtained the permission of the vicar and churchwardens of St. Nicholas parish, we proceeded to sink in front of the several piers, to ascertain if they had at any time extended in a rectangular direction from the face of the wall towards the church,—the supposition being that the piers were portions of walls originally carrying barrel-roofs; but no trace was found of any extension beyond the line of the foremost stones in the superstructure, which were evidently a portion of the original face of the building, the wall being about four feet and a half in thickness, and the arches standing forward four feet and a half, apparently for the purpose of increasing the accommodation on its summit for the defenders of the building, be it boundary wall, citadel, or whatsoever its original purpose, which I leave to more competent persons to decide. The remains consist of a wall composed of stonework thickly interspersed with courses of Roman tiles. There are five piers projecting from the face of the wall at various distances apart, carrying arches, turned with Roman tiles. The northernmost arch is narrower than either of the others, and in the wall at the back of this arch there are the remains of two circular-headed windows, evidently forming a look-out of some kind; and in the second arch from the southernmost end there are the remains of an arch or doorway twelve feet high and seven feet wide, with a double ring of Roman tiles. In the centre pier, which is three feet wider than the others, there is remaining the head of a niche formed with cut Roman tiles. The ground was removed to a considerable depth in front of several of the piers and arches; but in the front of one pier and arch, to the bottom of the masonry, being a depth of seventeen feet from the present ground level, at which depth the wall appears to have stood on a concrete base." Hence the subject remains in obscurity.

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ERRATA.

Page 54, line 23, for "Meyricks" read "Heyricks."

" 55, " 13, for "right" read "left."

" " 15, for "left" read "right."

" 83, " 33, for "double swinging censer" read "two censers used by two ecclesiastics."

" 90, plate 6, for "figs. 1 and 2" read "figs. 1 and 2 bis."

" 95, line 22, for "and" read "which."

" 128, " 19, for "*vera*" read "*veru*."

" 139, " 5, for "Pekan" read "Pekan."

" 140, " 23, for "a seal of similar character," &c., read "it."

" " 33, for "making," read "marking."

" 159, " 85, for "£300" read "£400."

" 332, " 1, add "coins of Gallienus, Claudius, Valentinian, and Theodosius."

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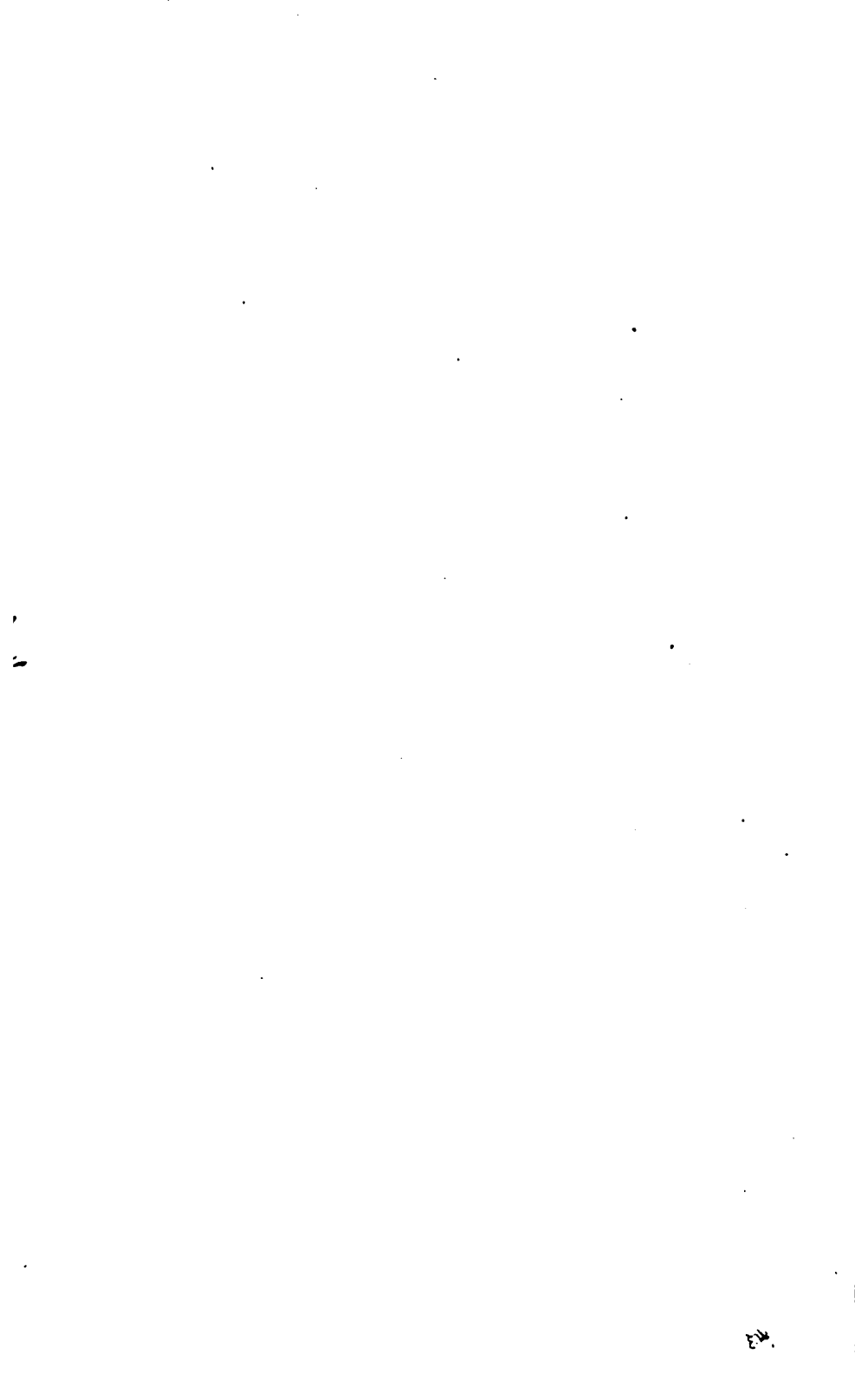
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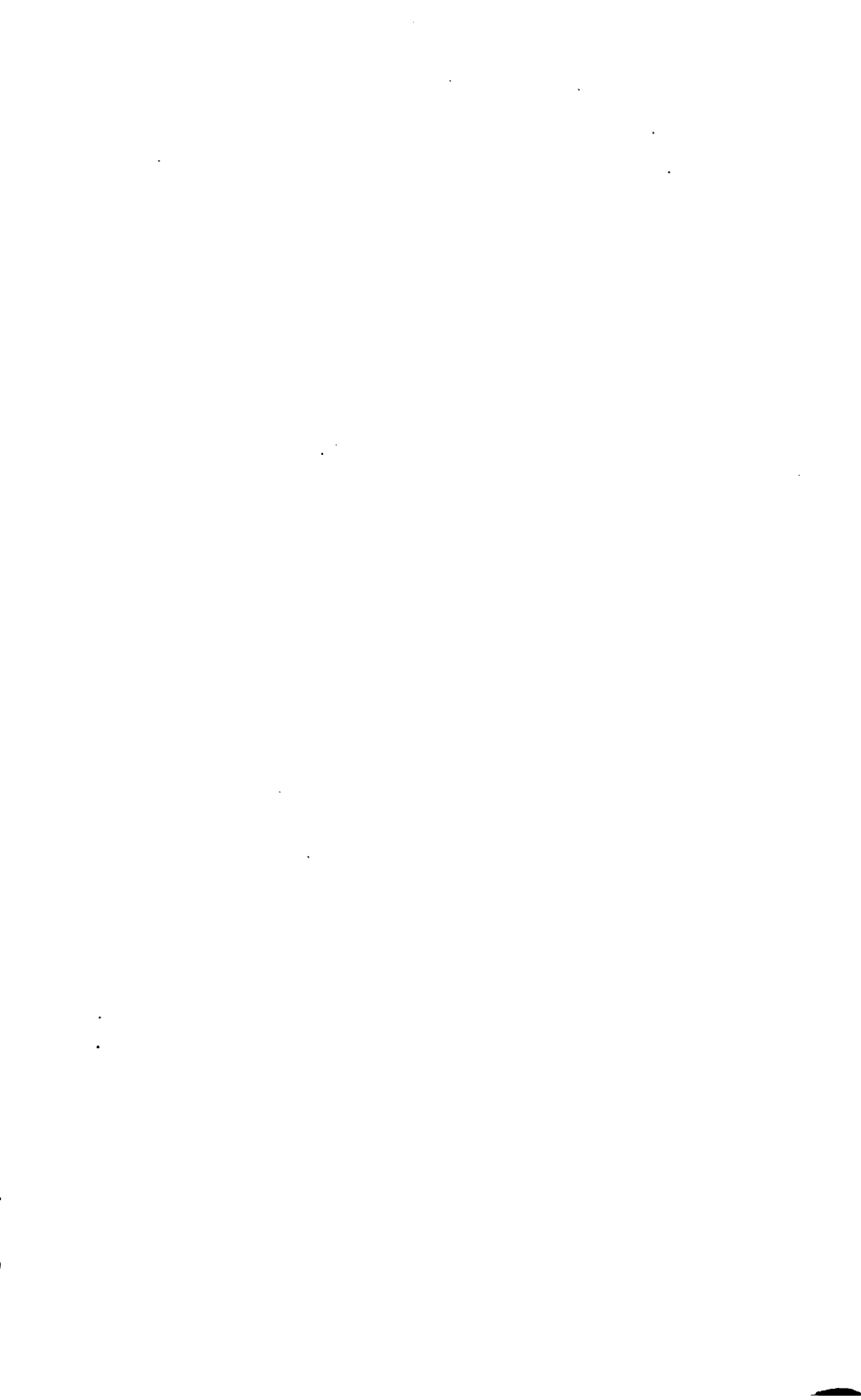
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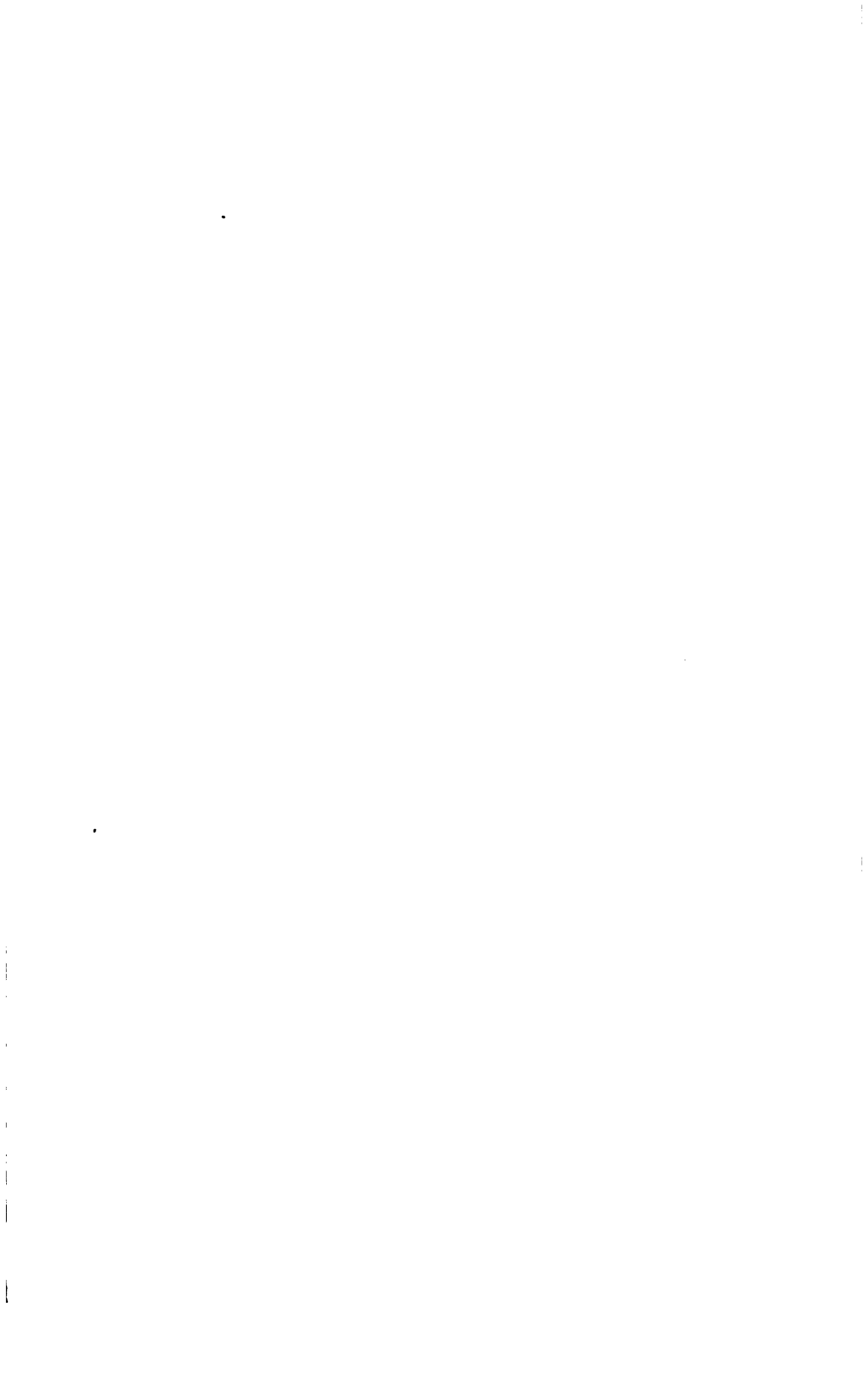
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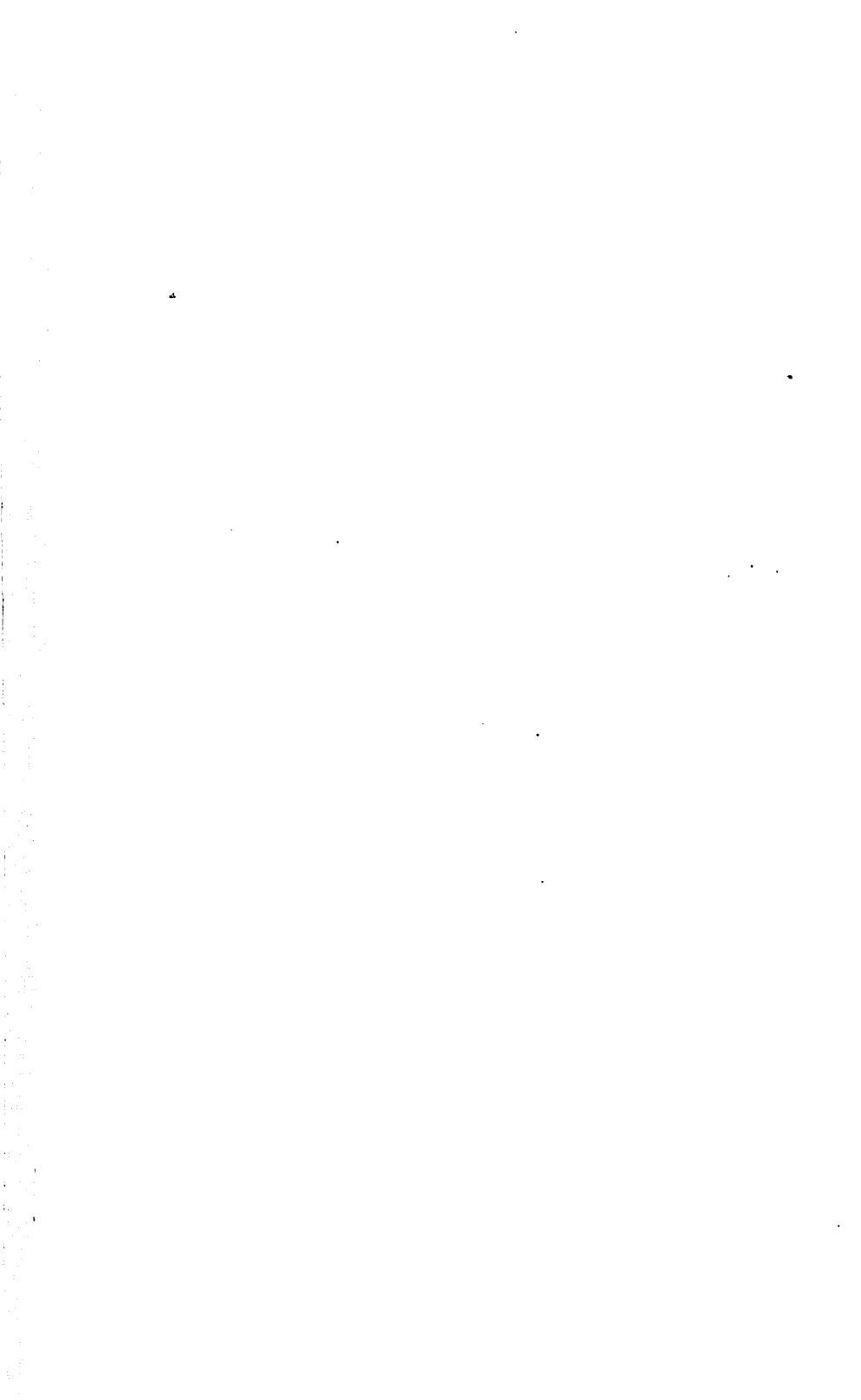
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